STATISTICAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

AGRA DISTRICT.

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APPENDIX I.—Jalesar *tahsil* and *its villages* ... ...

" II.—Additional statistics of population, &c., for Farukhabad and Agra districts.

Boundaries, area, &c.

AGRA[1], the head-quarters district of the division or province so named, forms a part of the Jumna basin. Extending from 26°-44′-15″ to 27°-24′-4″ north latitude, and from 77°-28′-40″ to 78°-53′-33″ east longitude, it marches on east-north-east with Etáwa and Mainpuri, on north-by-west with Eta and Mathurá. These are all districts of its own British division. But on its two remaining sides Agra is bounded by native territory: by Bhartpur on west-north-west; by Dholpur and Gwáliár on south-by-east. The adjoining sub-divisions of surrounding districts or states are, in Etáwa, tahsíl Etáwa; in Mainpuri, tahsíls Shikohabad and Mustafabad; in Eta, tahsíl Jalesar; in Mathurá, tahsíls Sa'dabad, Mahában, and Mathurá; in Bhartpur, parganahs Biána, Rúphás, Toshakhána, Dorhi, and Huzúr Tahsíl; in Dholpur, parganahs Rájá khera, *Dholpur, and Bári; and in Gwáliár, parganahs* Atter, Dondi, and Ambáh. Parts of the frontiers with Etáwa, Mainpuri, and Mathurá, are supplied by the Jumna; the whole of that with Gwáliár by the Chambal; and parts of those with Bhartpur and Dholpur by the Utangan. Elsewhere must be mentioned the minor streams which bound the district elsewhere.

The extreme diagonal lengths of the district are about 78 miles from west-north-west to east-south-east and about 75 from east-north-east to west-south-west. Measured due north and south, from Naharra on the Eta and Mathurá to Mahdewa on the Dholpur frontiers, the distance is 35 miles; while due east and west, from Sadámai on the Mainpuri to Gharoli on the Bhartpur frontier, it is 60. In the south-east and south-west, where lengthy spurs project into the surrounding tracts, the width north and south is in places as small as six or even five miles. The total area of the district has been reduced by recent changes to 1,850 square miles.[2] Its population has this year been reckoned at 974,656, or about 526·8 to the square mile. But of both area and population fuller details are given in Part III. of this notice.

Administrative sub-divisions.

For purposes of general and fiscal administration Agra is divided into seven tahsíls or sub-collectorates. In these have been merged the older jurisdictions known as parganahs or

[1] The chief authorities for this notice are copious memoranda by Mr T. Benson, C.S.; the *Settlement Report* (1840) of Mr. H. F. Evans, C.S.; the *Rent-rate Reports* of the same two gentlemen, and of the late Mr *W. H Smith, D.C.L., C.S.*; the *Handbook to Agra* of Mr. H. G Keene, C.S.; the yearly Administration Reports of Government and its subordinate departments; the records of the Board of Revenue, N.-W. P.; the Census Reports of 1847, 1853, 1865, 1872, and 1881; the *Archæological Survey Reports of Mr A. C Carlleyle*; and brief notes by Mr. Carlleyle, Mr. Alam (Salt Department), and other officers now or formerly posted in the district. But, other sources of information have not been disregarded; and obligations to many books of reference will be acknowledged in the footnotes.

[2] From a statement furnished by the Collector, dated 21st *February*, 1883. Advantage has been taken of the delay in printing off the few early pages of this notice to add the most recent figures.

baronies. The areas of civil and criminal justice are, respectively, the petty judgeship (*munsifi*) and the police-circle (*thana*), there being 2 of the former and 54 of the latter. In showing the relative situation of these cross-divisions the following synopsis gives also the area, population, and land-revenue of each tahsíl:—

Tahsíl.	Included by *Akbar's Institutes* (1596) in *mahál* or pargana.	Land-revenue (excluding cesses), 1879-80.	*Area in* 1882. Square miles.	Population according to census of 1881.	In the police circle of	In the munsifi of
		Rs.				
1. Itimádpur or Khandauli,	Haveli-Agra, Chandwár, and Jalesar.	3,09,900	277·3	141,267	Itimádpur, Itimádu-d daula, Khandauli.	Agra.
2. Firozabad..	Ráprí and Chandwár ...	2,24,400	203·1	108,521	Firozabad, Nárkhi.	
3. Panáhat[1] ...	Hatkánt ...	2,08,200	341·4	120,529	Panáhat, Bateśar, Báh, Jaitpur.	Fatehabad.
4. Fatehabad...	Haveli-Agra ...	2,50,070	241·3	104,762	Fatehabad, Nibohra, Dubuki, Shamsabad, Kakúba.	
5. Agra or Head-quarters.	Ditto .	2,28,261	206·0	206,765	Agra-city, Sikandra, Malpura, Kakúba	Agra.
6. Kiráoli or Fatehpur Síkri.	Fatehpur, Haveli-Agra, and Ol.	2,93,411	272·0	114,678	Kiráoli, Fatehpur-Síkri, Achhnera, and Runkuta.	
7. Khairágarh or Sarendhi.	Khánwa and Haveli-Agra.	2,74,450	308·9	118,134	Khairágarh, Irádatnagar, Jagner, Kágáraul, Safyán	
Total ..		17,98,842	1,850·0	974,656		

Changes in those sub-divisions.

In showing the ancestry of existing tahsíls we must perforce take as our starting-point the authority mentioned at the head of the second column. The earliest official record of

[1] Or Pináhat. The final *t* is cerebral and the word is Hindí. It has no connection with the Persian *panáh*, a refuge.

of tappas Kiráoli and Karáhra from parganah Haveli-Agra; and it is from the chief town of Kiráoli, a separate parganah under Ját rule, that the existing tahsíl takes its alternative name. But the largest addition ever made to Fatehpur-Síkri was that made at the great re-distribution of areas in 1878. The tahsíl then received not only villages from tahsíl Agra, but from the southern and greater portion of the abolished tahsíl Farah. This latter subdivision included two Ját parganahs: the first, Farah, composed of pieces from the ancient parganah Ol and from the Gáoghát riding of parganah Haveli-Ágra; the second, Achhnera, formed from the parganah last named. But two years ago the Farah tahsíl was broken up, its 84 northern villages being transferred to the Mathurá district and the southern remainder being amalgamated, as just described, with Kiráoli.

Khairágarh.

Last on the list, but not least, tahsíl Khairágarh includes the bulk of the extinct parganah Khánwa. The town which gave its name to the latter now lies in the Ját state of Bhartpur. While still masters of southern Agra, the Játs severed the one parganah into three, since reunited, Sarendhi,[1] Khairágarh, and Jagner. They about the same period swelled the size of the tract by adding thereto tappa Athgayán of parganah Haveli-Agra. From the same source were afterwards acquired a part of tappa Kágáraul and all or almost all of tappa Sanyán. The last augmentation was made in 1878, when, as already told, Irádatnagar was divided between Fatehabad and Khairágarh. Until quite recent times the tahsíl was called Sarendhi.

Creation of tahsíls.

When Lord Lake wrested the district from Síndia, in 1803, it was found that the Marhattas had interfered but little with the parganah distribution of the Játs. Of the 18 subdivisions formed by the latter but one, Náharganj, had vanished. The tract ceded to the British and included in the Agra district consisted of parganahs Farah, Achhnera, Karáhra, Malpura, Lohe-kí-Mandi, Khandauli, Firozabad, Fatehabad, Shamsabad, Irádatnagar, Khairágarh, Sarendhi, Jagner, Fatehpur-Síkri, Kiráoli, Báh, and Panáhat.[2] Each of the tahsíls now formed contained one or more of these parganahs. Farah and Achhnera became separate tahsíls, but in 1832, when the former was reduced by the surrender of a large area to the newly-formed district of Mathurá, the two were united into one, with Farah for its capital; and how the united tahsíl has since disappeared was told above. Karáhra, Malpura, and Lohe-kí-mandi were included in tahsíl

[1] Spelling probably on the analogy of Sirhind; Sir H Elliot calls this parganah Sirhindi.
[2] All these except the two last, which must have been omitted by an oversight, are mentioned in the treaty of Anjangaon. See Aitchison's Treaties, IV., 227.

Agra. Khandauli, Firozabad, and Fatehabad sufficed in themselves to form three distinct tahsíls; the first changed its name to Itimádpur in 1864, ten years after the town thus named had supplanted Khandauli as its headquarters. Shamsabad and Irádatnagar became a single tahsíl, abolished, as above mentioned, in 1878. Khairágarh, Sarendhi, and Jagner were thrown into a tahsíl administered from Sarendhi; but in 1841 the headquarters were transferred to Khairágarh, from which the subdivision has since 1863 taken its name. Fatehpur-Síkri and Kiráoli were created a single tahsíl, whose capital was in 1850 removed from Fatehpur-Síkri to Kiráoli. At first separate, Panáhat and Báh were in 1844 fused into one tahsíl, with head-quarters at Panáhat.

Though incidentally mentioned above, the changes of 1874-78 may advantageously be summed up here. On the 1st April, 1874, tahsíl Jalesar was transferred from Mathurá to Agra. On the 1st October, 1878, eighty-four villages, the north-western half of tahsíl Farah, were transferred from Agra to Mathurá. At the same time the remainder of Farah was incorporated in tahsíl Kiráoli; tahsíl Irádatnagar was divided between tahsíls Fatehabad and Khairágarh; a large southern portion of Jalesar was added to tahsíl Itimádpur; and tahsíl Agra exchanged a few villages with the surrounding tahsíls. On the 1st November, 1879, the remainder of Jalesar was transferred to Eta.

Administrative and judicial staff.

How the seven tahsíls now existing are for purposes of civil justice distributed amongst the munsifs was shown in the last column of the above table. But besides the two munsifs there are a subordinate and a small cause court judge. The former has original civil jurisdiction over the whole district; the latter over every tahsíl except Fatehabad and Panáhat. Since the removal of the High Court in 1869, the highest court has been that of the district judge, who decides appeals both civil and criminal, and tries criminal cases on commitment from the magistrates. The magisterial and revenue courts are those of the magistrate-collector and his subordinate staff, consisting as a rule of two covenanted officers, two deputy magistrate-collectors, the seven tahsíldars, and a bench of special magistrates. The bench, which sits at Agra, numbers in the present year (1880) ten members. An eleventh special magistrate (European) exercises jurisdiction in tahsíl Itimádpur, which includes the railway settlement of Túndla. The remaining civil officials are the civil surgeon and his assistants, the district engineer, the district superintendent of police, the assistant subdeputy opium agent, the headmaster of the high school, the deputy inspector of schools, the superintendent of post-offices, and the postmaster. But, as the head-quarters of the division and the former capital of the North-

Western Provinces, the civil station at Agra shelters other officials whose duties are less purely local. Such are the commissioner and deputy commissioner of inland customs, with their assistants; the commissioner and divisional engineer of Agra; the principal and professors of the Agra college; and the superintendent of the central prison. The Agra cantonment is the headquarters of the brigadier-general commanding the Agra brigade; and in it are quartered one regiment of British and two of native infantry, a battery of field artillery, the brigade staff, and a military chaplain. Here too is held during eight months of the year a "garrison school" for the instruction of military officers. In the Agra fort is stationed a battery of garrison artillery. Three companies of volunteer rifles have their headquarters in the district; two, of the Agra corps, at Agra; and one, of the East Indian Railway corps, at Túndla.

Military force.

A fertile alluvial plain, sloping almost imperceptibly towards the east-south-east, Agra lacks the more striking features of natural beauty. Its hills are low and bare excrescences which break the monotony of level nowhere save in the south of Kiráoli and the west of Khairágarh. Forests it has none; its woodlands are but plantations of fruit-trees, or the scrub which is suffered to shade some exceptionally barren spot. Compared, indeed, with those well-timbered districts which lie altogether north-east of the Jumna, the country is markedly open. For great lakes, like the Bakhira-tál of Basti, one may search in vain Yet, though monotonous, the scenery is far from unlovely. Though comparatively scanty, the trees are still sufficiently numerous to close in an horizon whose foreground is a prospect of rich cultivation. Such are the homely elements of views which, if the glare of an unclouded noonday blunt our appetite for landscape, are "in the rising sun and in the setting" assuredly fair.

Physical features; scenery.

Whether the same can be said for the banks of those rivers which divide the district into three or four well-marked tracts depends much on the taste of the spectator. Deep and precipitous ravines eat their way far back into the adjoining country, breaking the surface into gullies and grassy knolls. These are often bleak enough. But along the Chambal and the lower reaches of the Jumna they bristle into brushwood and small trees, which afford a cover to the *chikára* gazelle.

The river-bounded tracts just mentioned are, firstly, that north-east of the Jumna; secondly, that between the Jumna and the Utangan; and thirdly, that south of the Utangan. The last may be divided into two, as its western portion is severed from its

The district is divided by its rivers into three belts:

eastern by an intruding wedge of Dholpur territory. "It will be found," writes Mr. Evans, "that in respect to all those elements which go to make up the fertility of the country and the condition of the people—whether we look to the character of the soil, the nature of the irrigation, the density and composition of the population, the value of land as shown in its selling and letting price—in all alike these tracts differ from one another in a very marked degree, while each within its own limits presents considerable uniformity." Each, therefore, will be described separately.

(1) The trans-Jumna,

The trans-Jumna belt, including tahsíls Itimádpur and Firozábad, has an area of 480 square miles. Through it three small streams flow to join the Jumna: the Jharna in this district itself, the united Sarsa and Sengar in Cawnpore. The two last are mere escape-channels for the surface drainage of north-eastern Firozabad; the only noteworthy features of their basins being the oft-flooded lowlands along the upper course of the Sarsa and the sandy bluffs beside the Sengar. But the Jharna, which flows north and south through western Itimádpur, is a more important brook, fringed with ravines which resemble in miniature those of the Jumna. The Jumna itself runs a tortuous course between steep banks which in places form lofty headlands. Below these banks lies as a rule a narrow sloping shore; but in exceptional villages there open out beside the river small alluvial plains (*khádir*) of more or less recent formation. Barely three square miles of such land is, however, cultivated. The river-side flats are abandoned to the tall grasses known as *múnj* and *sarpat*, for which there is a ready market at Agra.

The total area affected by ravines is about 100 square miles. Within that area but one acre out of every four is cultivated, whilst elsewhere tillage claims more than four acres out of every five. Themselves occupying great spaces which they render completely inarable, the ravines exert a lamentably sterilizing influence over all lands in their immediate neighbourhood. Their tributary runnels not only score the surface and hinder the progress of the plough, but on rainy days carry off the mould until barely enough for the proper germination of the seed remains. What soil is left teems with knobs of *kankar* or nodular limestone, and is therefore known as *kakrat*.[1] But, to give them their due, the raviny lands supply a much-needed and much-valued pasture

[1] The construction of embankments across these ravines might perhaps cause the accumulation, in the pockets thus formed, of good alluvial soil. The experiment has been tried on a small scale elsewhere, as for instance in the neighbourhood of Farukhabad city. But in the absence of the requisite capital this suggestion is a little speculative, and may well be consigned to the comparative obscurity of a footnote.

ground. Though strikingly devoid of timber, they are fitted to produce in luxuriance the hardy *babúl* acacia. If extensively planted with that tree they would amply repay the planters; for the great city of Agra is near and the demand for charcoal great.

The ravine area is for the most part fringed inland with a varying width of sandy soil, which, being unirrigable, yields a poor and uncertain harvest. But beyond this sandy belt stretches that table-land of yellow loam (*dúmat, pilliya*) which is the most extensive and important part of the tract. Though somewhat light, the soil is highly fertile. Its fertility is unbroken save by the low and narrow sandy ridges which the wind has upheaved in certain isolated villages.

(2) The cis-Jumna,

The bulk of the district lies within the watershed between the Jumna and its feeder the Utangan. This central tract, which comprises the Kiráoli, Agra, Fatehabad, and eastern half of the Khairágarh tahsíls, has an area of about 870 square miles. Within it—for the Jumna and the Utangan are outside it—the one important stream is the Khári-Nadi or Brackish River. Winding with wide northern sweeps through the breadth of Kiráoli and the southern corner of Agra, this severs Khairágarh from Fatehabad and at length joins the Utangan on the Dholpur frontier of the district. But besides the Khári, there is one other large drainage-channel which, now a mere escape for surface rain-water, was formerly a percolation—or stream-fed river. The Nahra, Dahar, or "western depression," traverses Kiráoli, Agra, and Fatehabad. Like both Utangan and Khári, it is at first so wide and shallow a basin that its course can only be followed by noting the exceptional richness of the crops on its surface. But, like them, it becomes, towards the end of its span, a well-marked channel flanked by deep and cliffy ravines.

The ravines of all the rivers in fact—whether of the Jumna, of the Utangan, of the Khári, or of the Nahra—increase in length and depth as those rivers pass east-south-eastwards. The Jumna ravines, for instance, occupy in Kiráoli a very limited area, breaking up the surface for but a very limited distance from their mouths. In Agra they gash and sterilize an average width of a mile or more from the river. For a few miles in Fatehabad they almost vanish, the highlands gradually sloping down to a low bank of alluvial land. But they all too soon re-appear. Becoming deeper and broader as the stream flows past this tahsíl and Panáhat, they at length rival in penetration and extent the ravines on the opposite bank.[1] Though on a much smaller

[1] *i.e.*, those of Itimádpur, Firozabad, and the riparian tahsíls of Mainpuri and Etáwa.

scale, the Utangan, Khári, and Nahra ravines much resemble those of the Jumna.

Below the ravines, on the banks of the Jumna and Utangan, lie narrow slopes of alluvial land (*khádir, kachhár*) which sometimes widen into plains. Above the ravines stretches out the main area of the tract, a level expanse whose uniformity of aspect is sufficiently explained by the comparative scarcity of streams. About 80 per cent of its soil is good loam (*dúmat*), which seldom becomes sandy enough to be called yellow mould (*píliya*). There is however a little clay (*chiknot*), and a little earth in which sand preponderates (*bhúr*). The soil is on the whole inferior to that of the trans-Jumna tract; but the inferiority lies less in the land itself than in the quantity and quality of the water available for irrigation.

In Kiráoli rise two parallel but broken ridges of sandstone hills, which may be called the Bandrauli and Fatehpur-Sikri ranges. Trending from south-west to north-east, they have an elevation which seldom perhaps if ever exceeds 150 feet above the plain. But, notwithstanding their squatness and their lack of vegetation, they serve to pleasantly diversify the landscape. They may be regarded as extreme northern outliers of the Upper Vindhyan series; and are, indeed, the prolongation of a chain which extends with decreasing height and increasing interruption from the distant hill-fortress of Chittor in Mewár. The colour of their rocks, which belong to the Bundair, Rewa, and Kaimúr groups of the series just named,[1] varies from red to greyish-white; but in some isolated cases, as at Dhanauli and Ninwáya, is bluish. *The ranges present as a rule a slope towards the south-east and a precipitous* scarp towards the north-west.

and (3) the trans-Utangan.

In crossing the Utangan and entering the third tract, south of that river, we do not bid farewell to hills. The Khairágarh portion of the trans-Utangan belt is for some 30 miles divided from Bhartpur by a chain which in direction and structure corresponds to the two just described. Its height is, however rather greater than theirs; and, unlike theirs, its steep face looks south-eastwards. Its loftiest point is Usara, which, rising 810 feet above the sea, is also probably the loftiest point in the district. The range is as a whole called Bindáchal.[2] But besides this rocky boundary there are, in the same tahsíl and on the same side of the river, several lesser ridges and isolated hills. In some cases spurs of the Bindáchal,

[1] See Mallet *On the Vindhyan Series* (both Lower and Upper), Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. VII, pp 59, 80, 98-100, and 118. [2] That is Vindhyáchala, the Vindhya Mountain. The *Imperial Gazetteer*, for some doubtless valid reason, calls this Ganga Sijra.

they in almost all have special local names. Many a crag has its own special legend, which most often connects it with some holy hermit of the past.

The trans-Utangan tract, including the western half of tahsíl Khairágarh and the whole of tahsíl Panáhat, has an area of about 495 square miles. Its Khairágarh and Panáhat sections are, as already mentioned, severed by the interposition of Dholpur. They form protruding spurs which jut westwards and eastwards from the southern base of the district. As dissimilar from one another as from the rest of that district, they require separate description. In the Khairágarh section the character of the country is affected not only by numerous hills but by numerous watercourses. The variations of soil are frequent. Loam changes to sand and sand to loam, while both are invaded by manifold patches of blackish clay. The loam as usual preponderates; but its proportion to the total area is smaller, its fertility too often and too markedly less, than elsewhere. Water is seldom at any great distance from the surface, but the nature of the underlying strata renders irrigation difficult.

The Panáhat section, measuring 341½ square miles, has features that are all its own. Bounded northwards by the Utangan and the Jumna, southwards by the Chambal, it supplies those streams with a narrow watershed. Its average breadth is indeed not more than eight or nine miles; and half its surface is devoured by the deep and far-reaching ravines which fringe its confining rivers. The plateau crowning the watershed is crested westwards with a blackish clay (*már*); eastwards with a stiffer clay (*mattiyár*), which becomes in the extreme east somewhat sandy; and midlands with a fine loam. As the ravines are approached this loam shows proneness to a varied change for the worse; growing sandy towards the Jumna and clayish towards the Chambal. The alluvial lands (*kachhár*) below the ravines are both more extensive and more fertile than in any other part of the district. Those beside the Jumna, indeed, are as elsewhere chiefly limited to a narrow terrace between the ordinary and the high-flood levels of the river. But here and there, as about Batesar to the north and Khiláwali to the south-east, are fair broad plains of rich soil. And the Chambal lowlands are of a character peculiar to themselves. Sometimes forming the floors of vast hollows in the ravines, far perhaps from the river, but only just above the usual level of its stream, sometimes skirting the beds of the ravines themselves, they elsewhere rise in wavy and irregular hillocks from the water's edge, or beside it form a lip of low but fertile fields. The area of these Chambal lowlands is great. Great also is their general productiveness, due to the fertilising silt with which the yearly floods of the river enrich them.

Elevations and plains.

Enough has been said to show that Agra's surface is varied by no great changes of level. The hills confine themselves to a small corner of the district; and even there are merely low and scattered ridges, whose elevation of about 100 feet above the plain is sustained by no broad stretches of table-land. Though less local than the hills, the flat-floored basins of rivers occupy but a limited portion of the whole area; and their depth below those uplands (*bángar*) which constitute the bulk of the district is not considerable. It may be set down as ranging from 20 to 40 feet on the Jumna and from 70 to 100 feet on the Chambal. The uplands themselves descend from about 585 to about 505 feet above sea-level: the highest elevations being usually found in the west-north-west, the lowest in the east-south-east of the district. To this rule, however, the trans-Utangan tracts of Khairágarh and Panáhat seem an exception. They perhaps mark the stage where the side of the Jumna basin begins to rise towards the highlands of Central India. The following statement shows some of the heights recorded by the Great Trigonometrical Survey. It contains all the stations and a few of the numerous bench-marks; one level being taken when possible on the east and one on the west of each tahsíl[1]:—

Itimádpur,	Khandáoli	B. M.,	554·90 feet.	Fatehabad,	B. M. No. 38,		547·13 feet.
„	Dulh,	„	557 58 „	„	„ „ 41,		544·82 „
Firozabad,	B. M. No. 104,		553·98 „	Khairágarh,	Usara-hill	G T. S,	810 „
„	„ „ 29,		515·68 „	„	B. M. (D) near crossing of Khári Nadi and Gwáliár road		540·44 „
Kiráoli,	„ „ 11,		566 34 „				
„	„ „ 13,		560·02 „	Panáhat,	Panáhat	G. T. S.,	588 „
Agra,	„ „ 14,		561·17 „	„	"Athgath" (Hathkánt)	G. T. S.,	577 „
„	Kakúbá	B M,	546·68 „				

Usara-hill excluded, the stations and bench-marks here mentioned yield an average of 557·21 feet; and the accuracy of this result is confirmed by the levels taken on railways and on the Agra canal. Thus, the East Indian and its continuation, the Rájputana line, give us a section east and west across the vale of the Jumna and the breadth of the district; and the various stations have the following elevations above mean sea-level:—Firozabad, 540·19 feet; Túndla junction, 548 66; Agra East Indian Railway station, 512·26; Agra Fort station, 526·10 feet; Agra Cantonment station, 545·60; Bichpuri, 554·10; Achhnera, 556·10; average, 540·44.

The Agra canal gives us a section parallel to the Jumna, from west-north-west to east-south east along the central tract lately described; and its maximum and minimum levels in each tahsíl are these: Kiráoli, 563 and 559

[1] But this process was not always possible. In the west of Kiráoli, for instance, no height is marked by the level-maps of the Great Trigonometrical Survey; and in the whole of Khairágarh but one.

feet; Agra, 556 and 540; Fatehabad, 538 and 529; average 547·5. Though this and the other averages just given have been struck on too small a number of figures to be very exact, we may safely set down the usual height of the Agra plain as about 545 or 550 feet above sea-level.

Soils.

To the principal soils of the district frequent allusion was made in describing its three tracts. But there are in all, writes Mr. H F. Evans, as many as twelve different kinds of surface-mould. Of these three are clayey—*chiknot*, *nár*, and *mattiyár*; two are loamy—*dúmat* and *tarái*; two are sandy—*píliya* and *bhúr*; two are stony—*pakhar* and *kakrat*; and three are alluvial—*khádir*, *kachhár*, and *khitri*. This classification is, however, hardly free from the vice of cross division. All the soils which it names are more or less alluvial; and those specially named as alluvial are all more or less loamy.

Dúmat or loam.

Some of these moulds, continues Mr. Evans, exist in every part of the district, and vary only in respect of the extent to which they prevail. Of this class, by far the most important is the ordinary *dúmat* or loam. This supplies no less than three-fourths of the whole cultivated surface. It is more specially the soil of the Jumna-Utangan tract, where it occupies 81 per cent. of the tilled area.[1] North of the Jumna the portion is still 71 per cent.; but in Panáhat, south of the Utangan, only half the land is dúmat. Next in frequency and general importance is the sandy loam known as *píliya* or yellow mould. It is often very difficult to draw the line between dúmat and píliya; and, in those tracts where piliya is most common, much of what is called dúmat is little more than píliya which has been rendered stiffer by the action of water. Not that such regions cannot show much indisputable dúmat; but much of the lighter dúmat might be classed as píliya, much of the stiffer píliya as dúmat. That in many cases the soil recorded as dúmat is essentially the same as píliya is perhaps proved by the fact that in the trans-Jumna tract 88,734 acres of *watered* land were on assessment returned as dúmat and only 12,167 as píliya; while of unwatered land but 16,737 acres were called dúmat and as many as 17,756 píliya. There can be little doubt that, if unaltered by irrigation, much of the land classed as irrigated dúmat would have at least resembled píliya. The proportion of píliya is largest in Panáhat (23 per cent. of the cultivated area); and next largest in the trans-Jumna country (20 per cent.) In the main body of the district it is much less common.

Píliya or sandy loam.

[1] Though published in 1880, Mr. Evans' figures were collected before the territorial alterations of 1879. But this fact affects his results for the trans-Jumna tract little, for the central tract less, and for the trans-Utangan tract not at all.

Bhúr, or genuine sandy soil, is not often met with anywhere; and, in the whole district, only 3 per cent. of the cultivated land is classified under that heading.

Bhúr or sand.

The clay soils cover much the same area as bhúr, that is about 3 per cent; but in certain tahsíls they are more prevalent, the proportion rising in Fatehpur-Síkri to 9 and in Panáhat to 10 per cent. *Chiknot* or "slippery earth" exists in all parts of the district, and is perhaps commonest in the west of Fatehpur-Síkri. *Már* or black cotton-soil is peculiar to Panáhat, and *mattiyár* or clay proper to southern Khairágarh. The shallow mould found on the edges of ravines, and filled with knobs of nodular limestone, is called *kakret* north of the Jumna, and south of that river *pakhar* or *pakhra*. The area of the alluvial loams *khádir* and *kachhár* is important only in Fatehabad and Panáhat, where the fertility also of such soils is far greater than elsewhere. *Tarái* is the term applied in Khairágarh to dúmat which lies low (*tale, tare*).[1] *Khitri*, along the Ganges face of the Agra division called *khatri*, is the thin layer of silt deposited on the sands of the river-bed; and is almost confined to the channel of the Utangan, in tahsíls Kiráoli and Khairágarh. To Mr. Evans' twelve soils Mr. Benson adds a thirteenth, *retar*, in which the proportion of sand is even greater than in bhúr.

Clayey moulds: *chiknot*, *Már*, and *mattiyár*.

Stony soils: *Pakhar* and *kakret*.

Low-lying soils: *Khádir*, *kachhár*, *tarái*, and *khitri*.

By the officer last named, and after him by the *Imperial Gazetteer*, has been supplied a rough statement of the quantities in which clay and sand combine to form the principal soils. Dúmat is described as less argillaceous than siliceous; píliya as containing ·4 of alumina and ·6 of silica; bhúr ·3 of alumina and ·7 of silica; chiknot as possessing about a third of sand to two-thirds of clay; mattiyár as combining ·6 of silica with ·4 of alumina and vegetable matter; and *retar* ·8 of silica with ·2 of alumina. This analysis cannot of course pretend to chemical accuracy. Of lime salts, as for instance the carbonate and the phosphate, it makes no mention; but the carbonate must certainly impregnate the soil in the neighbourhood of *kankar* beds, if nowhere else.

The following table shows the distribution amongst the different tracts of the various soils. Both the table and the remarks attached are from the *Settlement Report* of Mr. Evans:—

Distribution of the various soils.

[1] It is believed that the word *tarái* has no connection, as sometimes supposed, with the Persian *tar*, moist.

Soil.	Trans-Jumna tract.		Jumna-Utangan watershed.		Trans-Utangan tract.			
					South Khairagarh.		Panáhat.	
	Per cent.	Acres	Per cent.	Acres.	Per cent.	Acres.	Per cent.	Acres.
Chiknot ...	1·5	2,771	3·	11,523	3·	1,659	3·	3,060
Már ...	...	..	...	...	...	...	7·	6,659
Mattiyár ...	...	...	...	29	6·	3,015	...	..
Dúmat ...	71·	1,34938	81·	3,73,815	77·	42,277	51·	50,313
Tarai ...	...	...	...	...	4·	2,001	...	...
Piliya ...	20·	36,947	8·	36,464	9·	4,794	23.	22,949
Bhúr ...	4·	7,399	3·	15,782	1·	579	1·	837
Kakreṭ ...	2·	4,478	2·	7,639	...	...	4·	3,840
Khádir ...	1·	2,492	3	14,458	...	120	11.	11,624

"In the trans-Jumna tract the most noteworthy feature is the large area of *piliya* soil and the small extent of *chiknot;* and these peculiarities are much more marked in Itimádpur than in Firozabad, owing to the greater area affected by the river ravines in the former tahsíl. South of the Jumna, the main body of this district is remarkable for the very large proportion of dúmat soil and the comparative infrequency of the sandy soils. To this general character of the tract Fatehabad, however, constitutes an exception, rather resembling the trans-Jumna tahsíls in possessing a large area of sandy soils, while it approaches Panáhat in respect to the extent of its alluvial lands South of the Utangan, in Khairágarh, we have a soil, '*mattiyár*,' which is peculiar to this portion of the district; the soil termed 'tarái, also, is to be found only in this tahsíl. Panáhat differs widely from the rest of the district in respect to almost every class of soil. In the first place it alone possesses any '*már*,' which composes 7 per cent. of the cultivated area; next its proportion of *dúmat* is exceedingly small, while it has relatively to the rest of the district twice its share of *piliya*. It has nearly twice the average of '*pakhra*' soil; and its alluvial lands are even more extensive and more valuable than those of Fatehabad." The most striking feature of the table is the vast preponderance of the ordinary dúmat and píliya soils.

Soil characteristics of the different portions of the district.

(a) North of the Jumna.

(b) On the Jumna-Utangan watershed.

(c) South of the Utangan.

But in Agra, as elsewhere in the more anciently cultivated parts of these provinces, the composition of the soil is deemed of less account than its position. The cultivator cares less whether his field is sandy or clayey than whether it is within easy reach of irrigation and manure. And irrigation being pretty

Soils are generally classed according rather to their position than to their composition.

generally diffused by means of wells, it happens that the most highly-valued land is that which is most easily manured, that which skirts the village homestead. It may no doubt be urged that the homestead lands have natural as well as artificial advantages; that the original colonists built their huts in the most productive part of the village, the only part which was at first found worth the cultivation. But, as tillage extended, the natural advantages became less apparent than the artificial. What grew to be the distinctive feature of the fields around the village-site was that they obtained the most liberal share of poudrette. It is now the fashion to divide the lands of any parish into three theoretically concentric belts: the *gonda*[1], home or highly manured; the *mánjha*, middle or more sparingly manured; and the *barha*, *hár*, outer or rarely manured. The two inner circles are as a rule provided with irrigation; the outer one is watered only when water is cheaply and easily obtainable. Of the total cultivated area 7·4 per cent. is classed as gonda, 9·3 as mánjha, and 83·3 as barha. The proportion of home lands is smallest (3·8 per cent.) in Panáhat, where perhaps through fear of inundation the homesteads of the many parishes which skirt rivers are built amongst the ravines, far from all fields, amid barren broken land.

Waste lands.

Of the whole district 19 per cent., or 361 square miles, were by the assessment surveyors classed as unculturable. In many cases the sterility of the area thus stigmatized was beyond all doubt. Nearly a third of it was occupied by rivers and streams, by roads, by the sites of villages and towns, by stony hills, or by land kept untilled for public purposes.[2] Nor can there be much question that the remaining two-thirds were actually barren. This remainder was with somewhat refining accuracy divided into land barren by nature of the soil, such as brackish (*úsar*) plains; and land barren by accident of position, that is the ravines. Under the former heading were included over 67½, under the latter nearly 185¼ square miles. The subject of brackish plains, and of the *reh* salts which effloresce on their surface, has a whole official literature to itself; but has been sufficiently discussed elsewhere in this volume.[3] The injury inflicted on cultivation by the appearance of such salts is more familiar to the American than to the untravelled Englishman. Around the Mormon city of Utah, beside the Great Salt Lake, *úsar* soils are common. Canals are not yet in Agra accused of propagating the evil. It was once the fashion in other districts to find them

[1] This word and its equivalent *gauhán* are usually derived from Hindi *gánw* or *gaunda*, a village. But down-country, where it appears as *goend* or *goenr*, it has perhaps some connection with Forbes' *gwaind*, near. [2] *E.g.* camping grounds or banks of canals. [3] *Supra*, pp. 11-13.

guilty on this charge. Salt lakes, it was argued, are produced by the continuous evaporation of river-water in a ventless basin; and the diffusion of such water over sun-scorched plains might perhaps account for the noxious accumulations of salt which had sterilized the land in the neighbourhood of certain canals. But Mr. Buck's researches (1874) have tended to acquit canals of spreading reh over any soil in which it does not already exist. The principal brackish plains of this district will be found in the Firozabad and the north-east of the Itimádpur tahsíls.

Pastures.

As pastures the salt-infected lands have their value; and the same has been already said of the ravines. But outside these barren areas the only large grazing-ground is that called the Cháhan, which occupies about 700 acres south of the Noni hill in Khairágarh. Landlords do not as a rule exact any fee for pasturage, but they sometimes reserve small patches of grass for the use of their own cattle. The only extensive plots rented out for grazing purposes are the Government camping-grounds.

Woodlands.

These camping-grounds are often graced by sombre groves of mango trees. But in groves, and in trees generally, Agra is as above mentioned exceptionally poor. Near the capital road-side avenues and occasional plantations supply the joint charm of verdure and shade. In the trans-Jumna tahsíls may be seen a few fine clumps of timber. Small patches of babúl (*Acacia Arabica*) and dhák (*Butea frondosa*) occur in the same tract: at Ibráhímpur of Itimádpur; near Pilua and Karkauli in the south, and near Kotila castle in the north of Firozabad. At Tanaura in tahsíl Agra amongst the Chambal ravines of Panáhat and about the hills of Khairágarh may be sighted similar stretches of scrubwood. But as a rule wood is scarce. The general surface of the level country, which occupies about two-thirds of the total area, is comparatively bare. Nor is the remaining third, which consists of raviny land, extensively wooded. Of the total area, only four acres in every thousand are occupied by plantations. But in the Duáb portion of the district—the portion across the Jumna—the proportion rises to six in the thousand.

Water-level.

The greater wooliness of the trans-Jumna tract is probably due to custom. It is here, that is, more customary to plant and preserve trees than elsewhere. The difference between this and other tracts in climate, soil, and population are too slight to account for the phenomenon. So is the difference in moisture. The depth of water from the surface ranges, in the bulk of Firozabad, from 20 to 50 feet; in the bulk of Itimádpur, from 30 to 80; and in the Jumna lowlands of both, from

10 to 20 feet. The figures for other tahsíls are these:—Agra, 20 to 60, but in Jumna lowlands, 10 to 20; Fatehabad, 30 to 80, but in Jumna lowlands as before; Kiráoli, 10 to 50, Khairágarh, north of Utangan, 20 to 60; the same south of Utangan, 10 to 30; and Panáhat, 60 to 100, but 10 to 30 in basins of Utangan, Jumna, and Chambal. On the whole, the water-level is deepest in Panáhat and certain isolated portions of Itimádpur and Fatehábad; nearest in the Jumna lowlands, the west of Kiráoli, and the bulk of south Khairágarh.

Rivers: the Jumna.

The one great drainage-line is that of the Jumna, into which or whose tributaries all the running water of the district finds its way. First touching the frontier on the north of Kiráoli, this river proceeds to divide that tahsíl and tahsíl Agra from Mathurá. It next enters and traverses the district, severing Itimádpur and Firozabad from the Agra and Fatehabad tahsíls. Issuing at last, once more to form the boundary, it divides Panáhat from Mainpuri and Etáwa, and passes into the latter district. Its general direction is from west-north-west to east-south-east. How tortuous its course is shown by the fact that its length along or through the district is, windings considered, about 145 miles; but as the crow flies, about half only of that distance. The breadth of the river varies from 500 feet to a quarter of a mile. Its velocity has been estimated at two miles an hour in ordinary seasons; but when swollen by rains it has been known to attain a speed of seven and a half miles. Its navigation will be mentioned under a separate heading. The only large town built beside it is the city of Agra; but on the right bank are situated, like Agra, the marts of Batesar and Kachaura.

"The bed of the Jumna," writes Mr. A. C. Carlleyle,[1] "is, properly speaking, *kankari*; that is, it is composed of the detrition of nodule limestone or rather nodule calciferous clay, containing an immense (*sic*) amount of sodium salts in various combinations, such as hydro-sulphates and muriates,[2] and also alumina. To the presence of these salts is due the brackishness of the well-water at Agra. In some places the kankar bed has been overlaid with fine sand held in suspension, brought down and deposited by the river itself. The beds of secondary red sandstone, over which it is believed the Jumna flows near Mathurá, here lie at a great depth, as the strata dip down from Fatehpur-Sikri. The sand of the Jumna is generally very fine, containing a great deal of mica mixed with calciferous matter in fine powder.

The nature of the banks, and of the ravines which fringe them, has received sufficient notice above. The stream has a tendency to edge north-eastwards, transferring more and more land from adjacent districts to Agra. In the nine

[1] Of the Archæological Survey.

[2] The muriate of sodium is an archaic term for the chloride, *i.e.*, common table salt. By the hydro-sulphate Mr. Carlleyle probably means the sulphate.

years ending 1870-71 no less than 11,666 acres were thus added by alluvion; but the district had then a longer Jumna shore than it has now.[1] Though edging, however, north-eastwards, the stream has as yet made little impression on the coast of tahsíl Firozabad. In settling riparian disputes, when the changes effected by the river have not been very considerable, the deep-stream (*dhar dhurra*) is fixed as the boundary. Not that the deep-stream is very deep. Even in the rains, when the river overflows the flat strips of land which skirt it and extends to the foot of its cliffs, its depth seldom exceeds 10 feet. The average depth during the monsoon, at Agra, is about 8 feet; during the dry weather about 2; but during exceptional floods, such as that of 1871, the water has reached a height of nearly 19 feet. In the dry season, as may be gathered from the preceding sentence, the bed is fordable at many points.

The Jumna is crossed by a pontoon and a railway-bridge at Agra; and by ferries at the following places:—Gáoghat, Mangroli-guzar, and Akbara in tahsíl Kiráoli; Swámi-ghát, Bálupur, Tájganj, Tanaura-Núrpur, Barauli-guzar, and Bisarna in tahsíl Agra; Madanpur and Poiya in tahsíl Itimádpur; Garhi-Uncha (Basai), in tahsíl Fatehabad; Shankarpur in tahsíl Firozabad; Rajaura Ballái, Batesar-Haraiya, Náringi-Báh, Barábágh-Kachpura, Bikrampur, Chaurangá-Behar, Parna, Naugáon or Kachpura Kalauri, Pipauta, Kachaura, and Khilauli in tahsíl Panúhat. During the continuance of the Batesar fair, that is for about a month, a bridge-of-boats is substituted for the ferry at Náringi-Báh.

In Agra the Jumna has but two affluents—the Jharna and the Utangan.

Its tributaries, the Jharna and the Utangan.

The former, elsewhere known as Karwan and Karon, is hardly so large a stream as might have been expected from the long area which it drains in Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Mathurá, and this district. Fringed by ravines, it flows southwards through western Itimádpur to join the great river on the left bank at Sháhdára. The other tributary, the Utangan, is a far more important stream. Rising near Jaipur, some 200 miles away, and passing through the adjacent state of Bhartpur, it first reaches the border near Saroli, about 8 miles south-west of Fatehpur-Sikri. For the first 14 miles of its course past and through this district it coincides roughly, but not exactly, with the boundary between Bharatpur and Kiráoli. It next crosses Khairágarh, forming an occasional frontier between that tahsíl and Dholpur. But during its longest digression into the latter its direction, which has hitherto been towards the east-

[1] It will be remembered that on the dismemberment of tahsíl Farah, a large number of riparian villages were transferred to Mathurá.

south-east, becomes east-north-easterly. It severs Dholpur from Fatehabad, and, after re-entering the district near Nabohra of that tahsíl, divides Fatehabad from Panáhat. It at length, after a run of 93 miles along or across Agra, joins the Jumna on the right bank, some 10 miles east of Fatehabad town. The Utangan is sometimes called the Bán or Bángangá, that is the Arrow or Arrow-Ganges. It derives this name from the legend that during the wanderings of the five Pándava brothers, when Yuddhishthira was sore athirst, his brother Arjuna drove an arrow into the ground, and that from the puncture sprung the fountain which is the source of this river.[1] But the Utangan has also other titles.

From an affluent which it receives shortly before entering this district, it takes that of Gambhír or the Deep; and from the difficulty with which its flood-stream is crossed, that of Ghorá-pachhár, the Overthrower of Horses. Writing in 1853, Colonel Cautley remarks that the character of the Utangan, where it enters this district, is essentially that of a mountain torrent. Its bed, here 800 feet wide, is of sand mixed with shingle; and its depth below the surface of the country not more than four feet. "The channel," says Mr. Evans, "drains a large area of country, and consequently carries off a large body of water during the rains, though at other times it is nearly dry. Where it passes by Fatehpur-Sikri and Khairágarh, it is wide and shallow, its banks low and (of) sandy soil, its course shifting slightly from year to year. Along the border of Panáhat it runs between more lofty banks of stiffer soil cut up by numerous ravines, some of which penetrate deeply into the adjoining lands." There is a ferry at Arnota of Panáhat, where the river is crossed by the Fatehabad and Báh road.

Unlike that Jumna into which it flows, the Utangan has in Agra and in proportion to its length a fair number of tributaries. First to join it is the Kawár or Goela, which, rising in the state of Kiráoli and traversing Dholpur, flows north-eastwards with a wide northern sweep through Khairágarh. Passing Jagner and the Sarendh hills, and reinforced by a small southern affluent called the Jhanjhan, it at length meets its end on the right bank of the Utangan. On the same bank and on the southern frontier of the same tahsíl the Utangan afterwards absorbs a Dholpur stream named the Párvati. A third feeder is the Khári Nadi or Brackish River, which enters tahsíl Kiráoli from Bhartpur; and flowing east-

Affluents of the Utangan: the Kawár or Goela,

the Párvati,

and the Khári.

[1] For some account of the Pándavas, see Gazetteer, II., 63-69. It may be noted that the Nepál and Basti Bangangá is said to take its name from the fact that for great part of its course it flows straight as an arrow.

wards with a great northern bend through tahsíls Kiráoli and Agra, forms for a short distance the boundary between the latter and tahsíl Khairágarh. It at length turns south-eastwards, divides Khairágarh from Fatehabad, and running between raviny banks reaches the left shore of the Utangan on the joint frontier of those two tahsíls and Dholpur The Khári is swollen in times of extraordinary rainfall by high and sudden "spates;" but its bed is too far below the level of the surrounding country for such floods to cause much damage. Mr. Carlleyle thinks that about halfway between Usra and Irádatnagar the stream crosses in a slanting direction "the conchiferous bed of some older river: a hard bed of shells and bones, conglomerated by lime." During summer the Khári shrinks to a mere thread; but in the rains, when its current is deep and strong, running 4 miles an hour, it is crossed by public ferries at Akola and Irádatnagar.

Other tributaries of the Jumna join it in other districts.

The Chambal.

The affluents already named of the Jumna join that river within the district; but others pass through Agra to join it in other districts. Of such the most important is the Chambal, Charmal, or Shiúnad, already described at some length in the Etáwa notice.[1] On quitting Dholpur it becomes the boundary between tahsíl Panáhat and the Gwáliár dominions, passing on to join the Jumna in Etáwa. Its direction is at first nearly parallel to that of the Jumna; but the distance between the two rivers afterwards diminishes to about 6 miles. Swollen in the rainy season by many a torrent from the southern hills, the Chambal is then a broad and turbulent stream, often flooding its marginal lowlands, and often rolling down a greater volume of water than the Jumna itself. But in dry weather it becomes a mere brook, winding through a sandy bed which fills but a small space in a wide expanse of alluvial plain. For between the steep raviny cliffs of the basin and the bed itself intervenes in places a good flat mile of rich black cotton soil (*már*).

Through the sand of that bed sometimes crops up the underlying rock. "The Chambal," says Mr. Carlleyle, "passes through limestone rock, trap, and quartz. The trap generally overlies the limestone, having overflowed it at some period." In the fine bluish clearness of its water the stream presents a marked contrast to the tawny Jumna. Its velocity varies according to season from 2 to 6 miles an hour. On what is rather a rain-torrent than a perennial river, navigation is always of course impossible. In the rains, when the stream is no longer fordable, it is crossed by ferries at the following places, all in tahsíl Panáhat:—Reha near Barenda, the Rájghát of Panáhat,

[1] Gazetteer, IV., 230-33.

Utsana-Keori, Basúni-Jeora, Kunwar-khera, Bamroli-Kenjra, Pura-Bhagwán, Gosli, Mahua-Nandgaon, Hatkánt, and Kúrath.

The Sengar and the Sirsa.

Two other feeders of the Jumna traverse the north-eastern corner of the district and of tahsíl Firozabad. These are the Sengar, rising in Aligarh and reaching the Jumna in Cawnpore; and the Sirsa, which, first assuming the appearance of a water-course in this or the Eta district, joins the Sengar in Etáwa. Almost parallel, the two streams run south-eastwards, the former with a course of 7 miles, the latter with one of 12. The Sirsa is sometimes considered an offshoot of the Sengar.[1] Its bed, where it approaches the Sengar, is certainly not well-defined; and it is quite possible that it may in times of flood receive some of the latter's water. In the droughty season it is quite dry.

Of all the Agra streams, indeed, the Jumna and Chambal alone are constant. Even the Chambal is not ordinarily called *darya*, a great river. The others are one and all torrents, swollen in the rains, but in summer mere lines of pools. The velocity and depth of such streams varies much according to the heaviness of the rainfall. During the monsoon it is rarely safe to cross them on foot, if the water be more than waist deep; and those who have occasion to cross do so on rafts supported by closed earthen pots (*ghara*).[2] Of all these smaller drainage channels it may be said that in the upper parts of their courses their banks are low and shelving; but that as they approach their union with the greater rivers, those banks become more abrupt, while the beds cut deeper below the surface of the surrounding country. We have already seen that of this change the Utangan is a notable example. Within the beds of such rain-torrents sandbanks are constantly thrown up, and again erased, as the eddying deep-stream alters its channel.

None of the rivers, large or small, is of much use for irrigation. The few patches of spade-cultivated *khitrí* land in the beds of Jumna and Chambal are watered with pitchers filled and carried from the streams themselves. But the lowness of those beds prevents the extension of similar advantages to fields above the banks. The Táj grounds and other gardens at Agra are irrigated from large wells which according to Mr. Benson derive their water directly from the Jumna. The rapidly drying beds of the Khári, Utangan, Jharna, and Sengar are in winter sown with spring crops. And from the pools of the stream last named the adjoining lands obtain in years of drought an occasional watering.

[1] It thus appears in Mr. Benson's notes and in Captain Wroughton's survey map. Mr. Evans is, however, clear in describing it as a separate stream. [2] Hence the word sometimes used for "raft,"—gharnai or pot-ship.

But the only running water regularly used in irrigation is that of the canals.

Canals.

Through the north-eastern corner of Firozabad flow some distributaries of the Etáwa branch, Ganges canal. Entering from Mathurá and running in a line generally parallel to that of the Jumna, the Agra canal traverses Kiráoli, Agra, and Fatehabad, to end, at Bihári of the tahsíl last named, in a gully which joins the neighbouring Utangan river. A general and historical description of the Ganges canal was given in the Introduction to Vol. II. of this series.[1] The Etáwa branch was opened in 1863; and its distributaries, the Pilkathra and the Tikathar Minor, have in this district a total length of 4¾ miles.[2] The area which they water varies much from year to year, but had increased from 86 acres in 1863 to 1,985 in 1879-80.

The Etáwa branch of the Ganges canal.

The Agra canal, sometimes called the Dehli and Agra, has its head-works at Okhla on the Jumna, about 6 miles below Dehli. After traversing parts of the Dehli and Gurgáon districts, it quits the Panjáb for the Mathurá district of these provinces. Its total length, from Okhla to Bihári, is 140 miles. It commands an area of some 750,000 acres, whereof a third is likely to be irrigated yearly. Its net income will probably show a return of 8 per cent. on its initial cost (about £710,000). Opened in 1874, it became available for irrigation about the end of the following year.

The Agra canal.

In Agra the main channel has a length of 53 miles, while the offshoots measure 121 miles more.[3] These offshoots are, on the right or south-western bank, the Kiráoli or Fatehpur-Sikri, the Agra, and the Fatehabad or Irádatnagar distributaries. The first two quit the canal in Mathurá, traversing the Kiráoli and parts of the Agra tahsíl; while, beginning in the village (Banikhera), where the second rejoins the main channel, the last waters parts of the Agra and Fatehabad tahsíls. The Kiráoli distributary ends in a creek which feeds the Khári; the Fatehabad in one which feeds the Utangan. From the left or north-eastern bank of the canal, in Mathurá, run the Kithám escape and the Agra navigation channel (*kishti-nálu*). The former discharges into a ravine of the Jumna, in tahsíl Kiráoli; the latter traverses tahsíls Kiráoli and Agra, to end near Agra in the Jumna itself.

The current of the canal is slight. Its breadth, about 20 feet in the upper part of its course through the district, fines by degrees down to 10 feet in the lower. Except in summer, when the water is usually little more than

[1] Pp. 13-32. [2] Pilkathra, 3¼ miles; Tikathar Minor, 1½. [3] The details of this total are: Distributaries, 99; Agra Navigation Channel, 17; and Kitham Escape, 5.

deep, its fathom is some 10 or 12 feet. Bridges are provided not only for the principal roads, but at many other points where crossings seem required. The navigation-channel is from 20 to 30 feet broad and from 6 to 12 feet deep. The breadth of the distributaries varies from 9 to 10 feet and their depth from 3 to 8. The area watered amounted in 1876-80 to 24,073 acres. But details for each tahsíl, and for the Ganges canal as well as this, will be found in the following table :—

Canal.	Tahsíl.	Average of land irrigated for		Total irrigation of year in acres.	Number of villages watered.
		Autumn harvest.	Spring harvest		
GANGES	Firozabad ...	792	1,193	1,985	8
AGRA	Kiráoli ...	2,431	5,475	7,906	113
,,	Fatehabad ...	1,907	5,699	7,606	112
,,	Agra ...	1,916	6,645	8,561	84
	Total ...	7,046	19,012	26,058	317

The nature and area of the various crops watered by flow or lift for both harvests and from both canals may be thus shown :—

Description of crops.	Acreage watered by		Description of crops.	Acreage watered by	
	Ganges canal.[1]	Agra canal		Ganges canal.	Agra canal.
Garden and orchard ...	60	796	PULSES. Gram ...	...	1,041
Melons	...	131	PULSES. Peas ...	...	5
Sugarcane	35	1,330	PULSES. *Arhar* ...	...	2
CEREALS. Wheat	507	4,569	PULSES. *Mung* ...	...	1
CEREALS. Barley	272	5,163	PULSES. *Gawár* ...	...	4
CEREALS. Mixed wheat and barley...	255	28	PULSES. Miscellaneous ..	...	...
CEREALS. Rice	2	...			
CEREALS. Maize	16	426	FODDER CROPS. *Charri* (*jodr* millet) ..	...	15
CEREALS. *Jowar* millet ...	16	105			
CEREALS. *Bájra* do. ...	8	52			
CEREALS. *Chena* do. ...	10	107	FIBRES Cotton ...	153	1,554
CEREALS. *Mandua* do. ...	3	19	FIBRES Flax ...	3	65
CEREALS. *Kangni* do. ...	...	62	DYE ...Indigo ..	525	1,814
CEREALS. Miscellaneous ...	5	...	DRUG ...Tobacco ...	...	4
			Watermuts ...	...	...
Mixed barley and pulses...	123	6,489	Crops watered once, but insufficiently ...	...	66
			Miscellaneous ...	...	176
			Total ...	1,985	24,073

[1] Most of the crop areas which the *Irrigation Revenue Report* of 1879-80 returned as watered by the Ganges Canal in this district were obviously wrong. But, on attention being called to the fact by the compiler, they were amended as here shown.

As the accounts of the Aligarh and Agra Irrigation Divisions are not kept by district, it is impossible to exhibit for Agra alone the canal receipts and expenditure. But the water-rate for irrigation is realized by the Collector, and this can be separately shown. It in 1879-80 amounted to Rs. 34,272 on the Ganges and Rs. 86,530 on the Agra canal. Of the former sum Rs 550, and of the latter Rs. 5,130, were paid by owners; the remainder of both by occupiers. Besides the water-rate, a sum of Rs. 43,624 is yearly credited to the canals on account of the enhancement which, owing to their irrigation, was found possible at the revision of the land-assessment.

So much for the canals of the present. Those of the past may be defined as attempts to utilize and regulate, by cuts through tahsils Kiráoli and Khairágarh, the irregular floods of the Utangan and Khári rivers. The history of such irrigation channels was usually as short as their courses. But, as an illustration of the danger of playing with the water of hill torrents, that history may prove instructive.

Abandoned canals in tahsils Kiráoli and Khairágarh.

"In 1848-49," writes Mr. Benson, "the collector, Mr. C. C. Jackson, dug a short canal in the south-west corner of tahsil Kiráoli. It extended north-north-eastwards from Saroli on the Utangan to Jajáoli on the Khári, a distance of 3 miles. At the same time the Bádsháhi Band or Imperial Dam across the valley of the Khári at Fatehpur-Sikri was repaired, its sluices being improved [1] The first effect of this measure was that the Utangan almost if not wholly deserted its old bed and cut a new channel along the course of the canal. The dam was breached at its north-west extremity, and floods which stagnated injuriously collected north and south of Fatehpur-Sikri. Next year (1850) the main stream, which joined the Khári, was quitted by more than one offshoot. The Khári itself was much swollen and breached the Agra road. In consequence of the malaria produced by inundations, the tahsíl offices, hitherto at Fatehpur-Sikri, were removed to Kiráoli.

"In 1851-52, to relieve the excessive floods, was constructed the drainage canal or escape cut which bore the name of its promoter, Mr. Collector Gubbins Starting just south of Fatehpur-Sikri and flowing south-eastwards to Deorahta, it at length turned east and discharged into a small feeder of the Khári. Its total length was about 8 miles.

"In 1852 another escape-cut, about 2 miles long, was dug from Sanauthi, north-west of the Bandrauli range, to the Khári. Its object was to drain off the floods which, in villages neighbouring Sanauthi, had been caused by the bursting of the Bhartpur dams. These Bhartpur embankments extended for a length of about nine miles on our western frontier, and held up a vast body of water derived by canals from the Utangan.

"The excessive volume of water turned into the course of the Khári continued to cause extensive damage to the Agra and Sikri road. In 1853, therefore, was begun, from the north-west side of the Singárpur bridge over that river, a canal which was intended to carry off the water dammed up by the road embankment. Running for some distance alongside the road in an easterly direction, it turned southwards towards Dáoli, where the water could be made available for purposes of irrigation. The length of this canal was to be about seven miles.

[1] See *Papers regarding the Irrigation of the Agra district from the Utangan river*, Rárkí, 1853.

"In 1853, after full reports submitted by the tahsíldár Mr. N. Parsick, the collector Mr. Gubbins, Lieutenant-Colonel P. P. Cautley, and Captain Baird Smith, R.E., the local Government sanctioned[1] projects for the following works —

"(1) Repairing the dam known as Kanhai Deh at Fatehpur-Sikri

"(2) Opening two lines of irrigation, one north and one south of the dam, to be called respectively the Farah and the Bharkol canals. The former was designed to run north-eastwards into pargana Farah,[2] and thence south-eastwards through tahsíls Agra and Fatehabad, falling into an old bed of the Utangan. The Bharkol canal was to flow south-eastwards and to discharge into the same small tributary of the Khári as received the water of the Gubbins' escape cut.

"(3) The construction at Bhainsa Mori of an escape weir, with sluices, in the middle of the dam.

"(4) The completion of the Dáoli canal.

"During the rains of this year the floods from the Utangan were far milder than usual. Before reaching Saroh a large part of the river had been diverted southwards by a cut in the Bhartpur territory, and the Saroh channel had silted up considerably. The only freshet on the Khári was caused mainly by the bursting of the Bhartpur embankments and by the consequent inundation of the villages north-west of the Bandroli range, the floods draining off into the river. By the close of 1853 work had been commenced on the first and third of the above projects and also on the Bharkol canal, a part of the second.

"The Farah canal project seems to have been never realized, but the Bharkol canal was completed. Leaving the great embankment near its south-eastern extremity it first ran east; next, turning further southwards, it crossed the Agra road near Mandavi Gur; and, after passing several other villages, joined near Naraul the aforesaid small feeder of the Khári. The length of this canal was about eleven miles But shortly before 1863 was constructed a branch which ran almost parallel to the north bank of the main canal, and whose length from Núrpur to its mouth was eight miles The area watered in 1862-63 by all these Kiráoli canals was 4,450 acres. The income derived from their water-rate was Rs 1,955.[3]

"But besides these canals in Kiráoli there had been opened another which from Kiráoli entered Khairágarh This was the Mandi Mirza Khán or Khairágarh canal, which, starting from the Mandi Mirza Khán gap in the Sikri range and traversing several villages of Kiráoli, entered Khairágarh near Chandi and continued its course to Saiyán. The total length of this canal was about 20 miles. It in 1862-63 watered 3,570 acres, and yielded to Government a return of Rs. 1,507. But it was also the custom to open sometimes the sluices at the canal head, and to thereby let loose over the villages towards Undhera a sheet of water whereof part would be carried off by the Gubbins' escape cut. The area thus benefited (though the benefit was doubtful) measured in the same years 4,888 acres, yielding a water-rate of Rs 2,145 The Khairágarh canal water is accused of having deposited a slight quantity of *reh* salts. The canals whose area of irrigation has been here shown were in 1862-63 the only ones working with any pretence to success. The Singarpur-Daoli channel had proved a failure.

"A noticeable point at this period in the history of these canals was the way in which the Utangan supplied them with water. The river had wholly deserted its old bed. Entering tahsíl Kiráoli on the west at Dáúdpur it now flowed north-west of the Bandrauli range, through Samra, to Muhammadpur and Páli. Here the water collected in a large lake, and overflowing the lands of the surrounding villages found its way by Mr. Parsick's Sanauthí cut and another artificial channel into the dam at Sikri.

[1] No. 2630, dated 7th July, 1853. [2] *Supra*, p. [3] Report by Mr. C. A. Elliott, then Joint Magistrate of Agra, dated 18th February, 1863.

"This new departure was due to the fact that about 1855-56 the Bhartpur Government, intent on increasing the volume of water in their reservoirs west of our territory, made 10 or 11 miles west of Saoli a cut connecting the Utangan with those works. The whole river turned north eastwards, making for itself a wide shallow bed and flooding the country with sand. The results in the Agra villages north-west of the Bandrauli range were great damage to cultivation and no slight injury to health. Very similar was the mischief caused by opening the sluices of the Bhartpur dams in places where the ground was already sufficiently saturated. But the inundations thus arising were drained off by a small stream whose waters ultimately reached the left bank of the Khári, a few miles below the Sikri dam.

"The harassing frequency of these floods, and the anomaly of charging water-rates for canals which perhaps caused more harm than good, led in 1864 to the total abandonment of the irrigation system just described. The sluices of the Sikri dam were left open. In 1867 Mr. Commissioner Drummond suggested that they should once more be closed with a view to irrigation; but after renewed discussion the project was finally condemned. It was reported in the following year that the permanent opening of the sluices had caused a marked improvement in the general health. But the evil effects of the system by which the Bhartpur dams were replenished continued. In 1866-67 and in the two Agra villages of Samra and Dáúdpur the silt deposited by the floods of the Utangan necessitated a remission of land-tax; and it was at length proposed to bring the waters of that river back into their old channel. Operations for that purpose were during 1869 begun in Bhartpur. Floods which carried away the embankments seemed at first to threaten the scheme with failure. An ultimate success is perhaps proved by the fact that of late years the Utangan has flowed mainly in its old bed past Saroli. But in times of flood it still seems to throw out an offshoot which, passing through Samra and Dáúdpur, connects it with the Khári."

Lagoons and marshy tracts.

Lagoons and fen lands are rare. Most of the few depressions in the surface of the district are well drained by the creeks or streams which feed the larger rivers. The most important marshy tract is the Nahra, Dahar, or Western Hollow, already mentioned in describing the Jumna-Utangan watershed. As noted in that description, the depression is often so wide and shallow as to attract notice only by its rich green lining of winter crops. Originating at Gobardhan of Mathurá, it enters Agra near Sandhan of tahsil Kiráoli, and flowing south-eastwards past Achhnera and Raibha, Midhakúr, and Dáoli, runs parallel to the Khári across tahsíls Agra and Fatehabad. Narrowing at length into a ravine-fringed watercourse, it joins the Utangan near Nabohra of the subdivision last named.

Of lagoons the largest is that in Páli, Muhammadpur, and Khera villages, on the Bhartpur boundary of tahsíl Kiráoli. At most seasons a small medley of water and marsh, surrounded by wide edges of sun-dried and fissured clay, it becomes during the rains a lake covering an expanse of about 1,000 bíghas. Its surplus waters ultimately reach the Khári; and some six miles east of it, between the Bandrauli and Fatehpur-Sikri ranges, lies the low valley subject to inundations from that river. South-eastwards from the Sikri range, nearly parallel to the Gubhna escape cut lately mentioned, runs another

swampy hollow which may be said to begin at Mai-Bara and end in the Utangan at Dilwar.

In northern Khairágarh, again, there drains down towards the Utangan an extensive stretch of low country, dotted with several large lagoons. Such is that enclosed by Bhákar, Son, and other villages, which in the rains covers an area of some 600 bíghas;[1] such the Paháru-Bara or Budhauli *jhíl*, which at the same season measures perhaps 100 bíghas; and such the Barwár pond, of about the same size as the last. In south Khairágarh, between Sálpahári and Jagner, extends a belt of low clayey soil which during the rainy months becomes impassable. This is called the Chhahar. Being devoid of habitations, it is used as an artillery practice range. A similar marshy depression, which, like the basins of rivers is called *khádir*, runs south-eastwards through tahsíl Panáhat, from Rajpura village to the Chambal. At Koláua, in the north of tahsíl Fatehabad, lies a lagoon which drains into the Jumna and is perhaps an old bed of that river.

The trans-Jumna or Duáb tract has no important sheets of water. Itimádpur can, however, boast its Motiya *jhíl*, on the 6th mile of the Tundla and Eta road; while in the same tahsíl, about Nagla Dál and Himmatpur, extends a marshy tract whose drainage is towards the Sirsa. The low plains around Nárkhi and Kotila, in Firozabad, are during the monsoon flooded by the joint action of that river and the Saugar. North of the Sengar, again, near Káyatha, Rathauli, and other places, occur occasional inundations. And just north of Firozabad town, between Tappa Khurd and Bhíkhanpur, lies a swampy tract whose moisture finds its way southwards to the Jumna.

Navigation.

In dealing with navigation we must turn to longer masses of water than can be found amongst the petty lagoons of the district. Boats of 100 maunds, or between 3½ and 4 tons, are the smallest ordinarily used for merchandise; and to float such vessels is required a depth of at least 2 feet. In the rains there are many streams of far greater fathom than this. But, being torrents, they are not regularly navigable; and the only waters on which any stable traffic exists are those of the Jumna and the Agra canal. Until years not long past the Jumna was one of the chief trade routes of the district; and, though the lighter and more costly commodities have deserted it in favour of the lately constructed railways, it still bears lazily downstream large cargoes of stone, cotton, and clarified butter. Owing to the current, which in months when navigation flourishes is strong, the vessels working upstream are as a rule but half the size of those bound down the

[1] According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* it is much larger, measuring 2 miles by 1.

river. The former attain to burdens of from 14½ to 18 tons (400 to 500 maunds); while the figures rise in the case of the latter to 29 and even 36. Barges of over 18 tons cannot ply above Mathurá; but about 300 are said to make yearly the voyage between that city and Agra. Boats of under 14½ tons sail upstream as far as Dehli; but these, which one might expect to be more numerous, are estimated at 100 only. The traffic continues as a rule throughout the rains, being suspended only when high floods are at their highest; but during the dry weather, from January to May, navigation is much impeded by shoals and sandbanks. At this season a vessel of the larger class is often delayed for several days in the same spot. But one of under 4 tons can at all times and from any point in this district travel as far upcountry as Dehli. Between Dehli, Mathurá, and Agra a few boats of about 30 tons[1] and under are borne by the Agra canal. The traffic would be larger if the canal head were not severed from Dehli by some miles of difficult Jumna navigation. But the amount of the goods transmitted might still be increased by securing greater regularity in the rates of freightage and in the times of arrival and departure. The vessels which ply the canal are at present in private hands; and the establishment of a Government boat train would be an experiment well worth trying. Agra is the single town which possesses any large population of boatmen, but even here Mr. Benson counts 800 only,[2] while for the whole district he reckons but 2,100.

But there is comparatively little need of water carriage in a district so well provided with other methods of transport. Agra has four railways, of which three are already completed. The oldest is the broad-gauge East Indian line, which traverses the trans-Jumna tahsíls. Its main trunk has a length within the district of nearly 25½ miles; and the branch, which from Túndla junction it throws out towards Agra, of nearly 13½ miles. The direction of the former, from the Mainpurí frontier to Túndla, is west-north-westwards; and from Túndla to the Mathurá frontier, north-north-westwards. The stations are Firozabad, Túndla, and Barhan. The general course of the branch is west by south; and its only station is the terminus on the left bank of the Jumna, opposite Agra. But this station, sometimes called the Agra transfer yard, is now used for goods only.

Communications. Rail; the East Indian.

The next line is the Rájputána State Railway, which begins where the branch just mentioned ends. Starting with both a broad and a narrow gauge, it crosses the Jumna on a fine girder-bridge, and runs onwards to the Agra Cantonment junction. Here, where the Sindia State Railway quits it, the broad-gauge ceases; and the line

Rájputána State,

[1] 800 maunds. [2] The census of 1872 counts but 160.

proceeds westwards, through the Agra and Kiráoli tahsíls, to the Bhartpur *frontier.* Its stations are Agra *Fort,*[1] Agra *Cantonment, Bichpuri,* and Achhnera. The total length of the railway, within the district, is nearly 22¾ miles.[2] But the line has also a short south-westerly "quarry-siding," which quits it near the Bhartpur frontier. This branch, which was constructed merely for the purpose of obtaining ballast and building-stone, has no other traffic.

Sindia State.

Beginning at Agra Cantonment junction, the Sindia State Railway passes south-south-westwards through tahsíls Agra and Khairagarh. It at length crosses the Dholpur border, after a course within this district of 19 miles. Being constructed on the broad-gauge, the line *admits of unbroken communication between Gwáliár and any* station of the East Indian Railway. Its stations in Agra are two—Bhandai or Kathaoli and Saiyán.

And Mathurá-Achhnera lines.

The last line to be mentioned is the Mathurá and Achhnera Light Railway. At present uncompleted, it will be opened about the 1st of October, 1881 But it will traverse Kiráoli alone; and after a brief course of about 6 miles through that tahsíl will join the Rájputána line at Achhnera. It will have in this district no other station. The railway will establish narrow-gauge communication between Agra and Háthras, with which broad-gauge connection is already afforded by the East Indian Railway.

Roads.

The more modest highways which bear no rails are divided as usual into four classes. The first includes roads which are raised, bridged and metalled; the second, those which are raised and bridged, but not metalled; the third, those which are neither raised nor metalled, but occasionally bridged; and the fourth, those which are mere cross country cart-tracks, neither raised, bridged, nor metalled. In the following list will be found the name, the length, and the class of each line:—

FIRST CLASS ROADS.

	Length within district, excluding fractions of furlongs.	
	Miles.	Furlongs.
Agra, Mathura, and Dehli	14	2
Sháhganj and Sikandra	3	5
Agra and Bhartpur	21	1
„ „ Fatehpur-Sikri	22	6

[1] This is nominally the terminus of the line, the point whence its mileage is usually reckoned But the railway really begins, as already mentioned, where the East Indian branch line ends, and that is 1½ miles further east, on the left bank of the Jumna. [2] This includes the 1½ miles between the termination of the East Indian Railway branch and the Agra Fort station.

		Length within district, excluding fractions of furlongs.		
	First class roads —(concluded.)		Miles.	Furlongs.
Agra and Khairágarh	... ...	...	... 2	0
„ „ Bombay	... ...	...	...	
„ „ Mainpuri	... ...	...	... 29	7
„ „ Aligarh	... ...	...	... 10	2
From Bhartpur road	to Achhnera railway station	...	... 0	4
„ Khairágarh do.	„ Kathnoli ditto	...	... 1	2
„ Bombay do.	„ Saiyán ditto	...	...	a fraction.
„ Mainpuri do.	„ Túndlá ditto	...	... 1	4
„ Do. do.	„ Firozabad ditto	...	... 0	3
		Total	... 107	4

SECOND CLASS ROADS.

Agra and Poiya-ghát	... ...	...	... 3 3
Sikandra and Kailásh	... ...	...	... 1 3
Bodla and Harbola	... ...	...	... 3 3
Farah of Mathurá to Kágáraul	... ...	...	... 17 0
Fatehpur-Sikri and Bhartpur	... ...	...	... 5 3
Agra and Khairágarh	... ...	...	... 18 3
Kágáraul and Tántpur	... ...	...	... 25 3
Agra, Fatehabad, and Kachaura	... ...	...	... 55 0
Arnota and Panáhat	... ...	...	... 6 3
Firozabad and Kotila	... ...	...	... 9 4
Túndla and Eta	... ...	...	... 10 0
		Total	... 156 2

THIRD CLASS ROADS.

Fatehpur-Sikri	to Nasirabad of Bhartpur ...	...	... 6 0
Ditto	„ Kágáraul *viâ* Mirza Khán ki mandi	...	... 15 0
Ditto	„ Fatehabad road	...	... 42 5
Agra	„ Irádatnagar	...	... 14 0
Do.	„ Bájákhera of Dholpur, *viâ* Shamsabad road		... 16 2
Panáhat	„ Bhadroli	...	... 7 2
Bikrampur of Mainpuri	to Kenjra-ghát ...	...	... 10 0
Báh	„ Batesar	...	... 5 7
Batesar	„ Pharera	...	... 3 0
Fatehabad	„ Firozabad	...	... 11 2
Nárkhi	„ ditto	...	... 9 2
Do.	„ Shikohabad of Mainpuri	...	... 5 1
Jalesar of Eta	„ Firozabad	...	... 13 6
Itmádpur	„ Kotila	...	... 12 6
Ditto	„ Pharha of Mainpuri ...	...	... 18 0
Ditto	„ Jalesar	...	... 4 7
Ditto	„ Khandauli	...	... 12 7
		Total	... 207 7

			Length within district, excluding fractions of furlough. Miles.	Furlongs.
Fourth Class Roads.				
Baroda of Mathura to	Fatehpur-Síkri	... ...	... 9	7
Dehra „	Kágáraul	... ...	... 3	0
Khairágarh „	Sarendhi	... ...	... 11	6
Panáhat „	Rájákhera	... ...	... 6	7
Firozabad „	Chandwár	... ...	... 1	0
Umargarh of Eta and	Barhan	... ...	... 6	0
Agra „	Julesar	... ...	... 11	4
Poiyá-ghát „	Bhágalghausa	... ...	... 2	0
		Total	... 52	0
		Grand total of all roads	... 523	5

The Agra and Mathura road is still a valued highway for both troops and pilgrims; but with the opening of the Mathura and Achhnera railway will probably lose much of its importance. The Agra and Khairágarh line, with its branch from Kágáraul to Tántpur, has a heavy traffic in stone. The same may be said of the Agra and Fatehpur-Síkri road and its continuation to Nasírabad.

Camping-grounds.

There are camping-grounds beside the Dehli road at Madiya-katra and Runkutta; beside the Agra and Bhartpur road at Achhnera; beside the Agra and Síkri road at Midhakúr and Síkri itself; beside the Bombay road at Kakúba and Tehra; beside the Mainpuri road at Itimádpur and Firozabad; and beside the Aligarh road at Khandauli. But recognized resting-places of the same sort are found also on some of the second and one of the fourth class lines. The Agra and Khairágarh road has two, at Malpura and Kágáraul respectively; the Kágáraul and Tántpur two, at Nagla-kamál and Jagner; the Agra and Kachaura four, at Kandol, Fatehabad, Báh, and Kachaura; and the cart-track from Khairágarh to Sarendhi one, at the place last named. The camping-grounds at Itimádpur, Khandauli, Runkutta, and Tehra, together with a fifth in Agra Cantonments, are Government property; and to each of these is attached a military storehouse (*bardáshtkhána*). The tent-sites at Fatehpur-Síkri and Firozabad belong to the municipalities of those two places respectively. The remaining grounds, mostly small of their kind, are owned by the landlords of the villages in which they are situate. Grass and fire-wood are nowhere very abundant, and should be collected beforehand at places where it is proposed to encamp.

Bridges.

The finest bridges are, as usual, those on the railways; and of those on the railways the Jumna bridge at Agra is easily first. This, which belongs to the Rájputána line, has a roadway for ordinary traffic as well as a railroad for trains. It consists of 16 large and 4 small spans, the former measuring 112 feet each; and its total length is 2,426 feet. The girders are supported on masonry piers. Of other bridges the longest are those which convey the Sindia State Railway across the Khári and the Utangan. Both these viaducts have the same length, 100 feet; both are built of girders propped on masonry piers; but while the Khári bridge has only 3 openings the Utangan bridge has 4. The annexed statement shows how the principal roads, not railways, cross the rivers which cumber their paths. It adds also, as details of some military value, the breadth and depth of water and the nature of bed and banks:—

Road.	River.	Means of transit.	*Flooded season.*		*Dry season.*		*Nature of*	
			Breadth	Depth.	Breadth	Depth.	Bank.	Bed.
1st Class.								
Agra and Bombay.	Khári	Brick bridge	200 feet	11 feet	10 feet	3 inches	Clayey.	Clayey.
Ditto ...	Utangan	Ditto.	280 „	9 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Sandy.
Agra and Mainpuri.	Jumna	Pontoon bridge						
Ditto ...	Jharna	Brick bridge	100 „	5 „	Do.	Do	Ditto	Ditto.
Agra and Fatehpur-Síkri	Khári	Ditto	130 „	6 „	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Clayey.
2nd Class.								
Farah and Kágáraul.	Ditto	Ford in dry season.	200 „	9 „	10 feet	6 inches	Ditto	Ditto.
Fatehpur-Síkri and Bhartpur.	Ditto	Brick causeway.	300 „	9 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Ditto.
Agra and Kharágarh.	Ditto	Brick bridge	200 „	11 „	8 feet	8 inches	Ditto	Ditto.
Kágáraul and Tantpur.	Utangan	Irish bridge	600 „	8½ „	80 „	3 feet	Ditto	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Kuwár	Brick bridge	230 „	6 „	20 „	2 „	Ditto	Sandy.
Agra and Kachaura.	Utangan	Ford in dry season	1,000 „	17 „	100 „	3 „	Ditto	Ditto.
Ditto .	Jumna	Boat	1,500 „	23 „	280 „	9 „	Ditto	Ditto.
Firozabad and Kosila.	Sirsa	Brick. bridge	28 „	4 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Ditto.

Road.	River.	Means of transit.	*Flooded season.*		*Dry season.*		*Nature of*	
			Breadth.	Depth.	Breadth	Depth.	Bank.	Bed.
3RD CLASS								
Fatehpur-Síkri and Nasírabad.	Utangan	Ford in dry season	500 feet	8 feet	40 feet	3 feet	Clayey,	Clayey.
Fatehpur-Síkri to Fatehabad road	Khári	Brick bridge.	100 „	5 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Sandy.
Agra and Iradatnagar.	Ditto	Ford in dry season.	100 „	6 „	8 feet	2 inches	Ditto	Clayey.
Agra and Rájákhera	Utangan	Boat	1,000 „	17 „	100 „	3 feet	Ditto	Ditto.
Bikrampur and Kenjughát	Jumna.	Ditto	1,800 „	24 „	300 „	10 „	Ditto	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Chambal	Ditto	1,200 „	18 „	150 „	4 „	Ditto	Ditto.
Fatehabad and Firozabad	Jumna.	Ditto	2,300 „	21 „	350 „	8 „	Ditto	Clayey.
Nárkhi and Firozabad.	Sirsa	None in flooded season.	100 „	6 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Clayey.
Itimádpur and Kottla.	Ditto	Irish bridge	230 „	8 „	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
Itimádpur and Pharhea.	Ditto	None in flooded season	100 „	6 „	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sengar	Ditto	100 „	6 „	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
Itimádpur and Khandauli.	Jharna	Ditto	150 „	8 „	10 feet	6 feet	Ditto	Ditto.

The remaining roads of importance cross no important streams. But the principal obstacle to wheeled traffic is not so much the streams themselves as the gullies which score their banks. The general direction of the ravines is of course at right angles to that of the river; and a large ravine may sometimes therefore be converted into a fair sloping descent towards the water. But the cases where such treatment is possible are rare.

In the following table will be found the distances from Agra Fort of the principal places in the district. The mileage is measured by road:—

Town or village.	Distance in miles.	Town or village.	Distance in miles.
Achhnera	16	Fatehabad	21
Ahárau	21	Fatehpur-Síkri	23
Bah	45	Firozabad	26
Barhan (railway station) ...	22½	Iradatnagar	16
Batesar	41	Itimadpur	12
Bhundai (railway station) ...	10	Jagner	31½
Bichpuri	6	Jaitpur	50
Dubuki	14	Kágáraul	13½

Town or village.	Distance, in miles.	Town or village.	Distance in miles.
Kakúba	8	Pimáhat	33
Kharágarh	18	Runkutta	9
Khandauli	10	Saiyán	17
Kiráolí	15	Sarendhi	24
Malpura	5½	Shamsabád	11
Midhakúr	10½	Sikandra	5
Nárkhi	25	Tajganj	2
Nabobra	19¾	Túndla	15

The distances from Agra of several smaller places will be found in the final or Gazetteer part of this notice. The present part will be closed as usual with some account of the climate.

Climate and rainfall.

As the sequence and characteristics of the several seasons have been shown in the Farukhabad Memoir,[1] this subject may be treated with a grateful brevity. The air is as a rule drier and hotter than that of any neighbouring British district. Remote from the Himálaya as well as the ocean, and lying under the lee of the Central Indian table-land, Agra is not abundantly blessed with rain. From the end of April to the end of August its capital is warmer than Benares, and may perhaps dispute with such rocky ovens as Chunár the doubtful honour of being the warmest station in these provinces. The following table shows the chief meteorological statistics as collected for 1877 and several preceding years at the Agra observatory :—

Month.	*Barometer.*		*Temperature of air.*		*Humidity (Saturation = 100)*		*Rainfall in inches.*						
	Mean for 1868-77.	*Mean for 1877.*	*Mean for 1868-77.*	*Mean for 1877.*	*Mean for 1868-77.*	*Mean for 1877.*	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.
January ...	29 461	29·644	59·6	60 2	52	57	1·60	1·59	04	·06	·35	...	0·25
February ...	29·402	29·472	65 8	60·7	45	40	·27	·16	·04	...	2 17	...	0·11
March ..	29 362	29·333	76·5	75 9	36	35	...	...	·45	·13	...	·16	0·44
April ..	29 186	29 253	87·2	84 0	26	31	·12	·40	...	·13	...	09	0·16
May ...	29 067	29·135	93·7	91·7	27	26	2·37	1· 0	1·25	...	·57	·24	0 85
June ..	28·942	28·997	94 8	96·9	43	32	5·76	1·38	1 89	6·37	·10	2 71	0·41
July ..	29·039	28 974	87 4	92·6	57	46	3 94	5·04	16 00	10 33	16·14	6 49	1 77
August ...	29 017	29·007	85 5	95 5	71	37	9·28	8 60	17 12	9·68	4·59	4 24	0 44
September .	28 117	29·149	84·1	94·2	67	32	4 06	4 67	9 58	1·65	12·84	11 55	0 29
October ...	29 296	29·352	78 0	81·0	46	44	...	...	...	...	·07	·07	3 93
November ...	29 438	29·410	70 6	75·6	40	39	...	...	...	...	...	...	0·09
December ...	29 487	29 487	62·4	61 7	49	59	0 98	23	...	...	...	...	2·70
Total ...							33 68	23 37	46 37	28·35	36·89	25 65	11·44

[1] Pp. 30-31.

Struck on the totals of the last seven columns, the average yearly rainfall is 29·38 inches. But, owing to the large variations which occur from decade to decade, and perhaps also to defects in the collection of the statistics themselves, such figures are not infallible. Working on observations which in different months extend over from 32 to 34 years, Mr. S. A. Hill[1] gives the annual average as 26·45 inches. As a rule the trans-Jumna and central parts of the district obtain a more copious fall than the tract south of the Utangan.

The monsoon generally lasts throughout the months of July, August, and September; but is always broken by briefer or longer interludes of fine weather. Days of heavy rain may be followed by weeks of cloud-flecked sunshine and hot steamy atmosphere; or there may be showers daily. The few weeks which succeed the close of the rains are often the most unhealthy time of the year. The earth's evaporation continues without interruption, and fevers flourish. But about the middle or end of October, with clear skies and dewy nights, the cold season sets in. The health of both natives and foreigners improves. As the air becomes drier and chillier the nocturnal dews are succeeded by nocturnal frosts. In January, and just before sunrise, ice can be obtained if needed by filling shallow freezing-pits with water. A traveller quoted by Thornton tells us how, at daybreak in this season, he found icicles hanging from the eaves of his tent. At about 7 A.M. the thermometer, exposed on the grass, has fallen to 24° and even 23·5°.[2] In the early morning shivering women and children may be seen trying to recover their warmth by squatting against the southern sides of sunny walls. Yet at noon and in the open air an Agra winter has the warmth of an Italian summer.

The so-called "Christmas rains" more often fall in January-February than in December-January. A Rohilkhand proverb asserts that showers in the month lastnamed are as rare as a brown elephant or a bald woman. Throughout the cold season hailstorms are a possibility; but the owners of crops need not fear the yearly recurrence of such downpours. In February "the hounds of spring are on winter's traces;" and towards the close of March, when the sun has passed the vernal equinox, the summer has fairly begun. An occasional relief or respite from the rapidly increasing heat is vouchsafed by spring showers; but by the middle of April, the spring crops have been harvested, and the bare fields are swept by a sirocco fresh from the glowing hills of Rájputána and the sandy deserts of the west. As this breeze becomes hotter and stronger, vegetation is seared and the air is filled with a dense haze.

[1] Meteorological Reporter to Government, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. [2] 24° on the 11th January, 1876, and the 8th January, 1878; 23·5° on the 27th December, 1878. The usual limit is about 25°.

The monotony of the blast is sometimes varied by the paroxysm of a dust-storm, which obscures the sun and brings a few drops of rain. During the apoplectic months of May and June the temperature sometimes rises until Europeans find it almost unsupportable. The black-bulb thermometer has been known to mark at 1 P.M, and in the sun's rays, 181° and even 185°.[1] It should, however, be remembered that such heat is never actually *felt*. In order to feel it one would have to blacklead one's hand and expose that hand under a glass case to the glare But even in the shade, 118° and 120° have been reached.[2] As the temperature of inanimate bodies adapts itself to that of the surrounding air, the expression "cold as a corpse" becomes during such heat inapplicable.

Towards the close of June, a comparatively cool and refreshing breeze arises at midday, as a sign that rain has fallen in the distant south and south-west A few days later the thunder clouds roll over Agra itself. The rain falls in torrents In less than a week the earth has changed its pall of dismal brown for a wedding-garment of delightful verdure. And a fresh agricultural year has begun.

PART II.

Animal, Mineral, and Vegetable Products.

Fauna.

In the introduction to the fourth volume of this series has been given a scientific and fairly exhaustive list of the Fauna inhabiting the Dúáb. The Dúáb includes indeed only two tahsíls of Agra; but the list includes all animals found in the district. We can here, therefore, content ourselves with mentioning a few of those beasts and birds in which the sportsman or the naturalist is likely to take an interest. A passing notice will be bestowed also on the more important domestic animals.

Wild beasts.

The panther and leopard, larger and smaller varieties of the same species (*Felis pardus*, are both, it seems, sometimes encountered in the district; the former under the name of *tendua*, the latter under that of *baghera*. The Chambal ravines, the hills around Jagner, and the ruins of Fatehpur-Síkri are mentioned as their habitat; but in which locality each may be found is doubtful. The Jagner hills are haunted also by the striped hyæna (charagh, lakar-bagha, *Hyæna striata*).

[1] 181·9 on the 19th June, 1878; 182·9 in the 6th June, 1880; 186·4 on the 25th May, 1879 The usual limit is about 178°. [2] 118 on the 12th June, 1866, and 5th June, 1867; 120·3 on the 18th June, 1878. The usual limit is about 117°.

The Indian antelope (hiran, mirg, *Antilope bezoartica*) is very common, mustering in herds whose head may be counted by the hundred. The average length of the male horn is about 20 inches; but specimens of 25 and even 26 inches have been obtained. It need hardly be said that a horned doe is a freak of nature, rarely encountered even in museums. The ravine-deer or Indian gazelle (chikára, chiska, *Gazella Bennettii*) is plentiful among the Jumna ravines, but seldom quits them except in search of food. In the Jumna ravines, south of Firozabad, Mr. R. M. Adam[1] once met with a good many blue-bull (rojh, nílgáe, *Portax pictus*); but these beasts are not of the commonest. The blue-bull is sometimes called *pára*, a name more properly applied to the hog-deer (*Axis porcinus*). The hog-deer is itself very rare; but a solitary specimen was once shot not far from Agra, in the tamarisk-brakes between Sikandra and the Jumna. From the tamarisk and tall grass[2] beside that river may be started many a wild boar (jangali súar, bad jánwar, *Sus Indicus*). Where tufts of grass supply a form, very common is the common Indian hare (sasa, khargosh, *Lepus ruficaudatus*).

The wolf (bheriya, *Canis pallipes*) is often sighted, but most often, perhaps, in the Jumna ravines. He sometimes attacks women and children; but is on the whole a smaller and milder animal than his European cousin. No weird *gareloup* or *wàhrwolf* legends surround his name Here wolves are not as a rule gregarious. But "on one occasion," writes Mr. Adam, "I had the pleasure of seeing a pack surround a herd of antelope and run one down." This probably happened during the breeding season, when a single female is often courted and escorted by several admiring males. The wild unearthly cry of the jackal (gídar, *Canis aureus*) startles the night at even Agra itself. Foxes (*lumri, lokri*) are as familiar as in other parts of these provinces. But their furs vary in colour; and it is just possible that species other than the common *Vulpes Bengalensis* exist. The fretful porcupine (*Hystrix leucura*), edible but seldom eaten, is here called *sahi*. His flesh is described as a somewhat greasy food, recalling faint reminiscences of sucking-pig. Always fond of crumbling walls, he may be found amongst the ruins on the Jumna bank near Agra; and has been known to invade the gardens around that city. The North-Indian hedgehog (*Erinaceus collaris*) is very scarce, but not altogether unknown. The same remark applies to the Indian badger (biju, *Mellivora Indica*). But several specimens of this animal, said to have been captured near Agra, were brought to Mr. Adam by men of the Kanjar caste. In spite of its euphonious generic name, which is derived from the

[1] Then an Assistant Commissioner in the Salt Department.

[2] Sarpat, *Saccharum sara*,

honeyeating habits of its South African congener, this badger is accused of exhuming bodies. Hence its popular nickname of grave-digger. Small parties of otters (úd biláo, *Lutra Nair*) are often seen disporting themselves on the Jumna and Chambal. In places near the banks of the former river they are called mermen (*jal mánus*), and credited with many wondrous feats.

The wild cat (jangali billi, *Felis chaus*) is met with throughout the district; and common tree-cats (ban-biláo, *Paradoxurus musanga*) are sometimes shot. They are in places, however, deemed sacred. On the top of the castle-hill at Jagner a shrine has been built over the mouth of a crevice or cave which they inhabit. The Indian jerboa rat (harna-más, jangali-chúha, *Gerbillus Indicus*), a grain-feeding animal, is elsewhere dug out of his hole and eaten by the poorer classes. But here, though plentiful enough, he remains undevoured. The large bandicoot rat (ghus, *mus bandicota*) frequents the neighbourhood of grain-dealers' shops. The pangolin or scaly ant-eater (bajurkit, *Pholidotus Indicus*) is so rare that perhaps few Englishmen in the district have ever heard of its existence. Some live specimens were, however, obtained by Mr. Adam. "It was really astonishing," he remarks, "to witness the rapidity with which, when let loose, they manage to burrow in moderately hard soil." The Gangetic porpoise (sús, susa, *Platanista Gangetica*) rolls about the surface of the Jumna and the Chambal. Other common mammals, such as the monkey (bandar, *Inuus rhesus*), the flying-fox (bagal, *Pteropus Edwardsii*), and the musk-shrew (chhachúndar, *Sorex caerulescens*), are too generally known to crowd our narrow space.

The rewards granted here and elsewhere in the Agra division for the slaughter of wild beasts are these:—For a full-grown leopard Rs. 5, and for a leopard cub Rs. 2, for a full-grown hyæna Rs. 2, and for a hyæna cub 8 annas; for full-grown male and female wolves, Rs. 2 and Rs. 3 respectively; for a male wolf-cub 8, and for a female wolf-cub 12 annas. The average annual number of persons killed by wild beasts and snakes is 44·8; the figures being 45 in 1875, 53 in 1876, 55 in 1877, 41 in 1878, and 30 in 1879.

Cattle and horses.

About ten years ago wild cattle (*bangáe*), the descendants of domesticated ancestors, were reported as sometimes visible in the north-west of the district. They were probably strangers from the Bhartpur forests, where such kine are numerous. Of cattle that are still domestic Agra has no peculiar breeds. The price of bullocks ranges from ten rupees for the stunted beast kept by the petty cultivator to sixty for the large foreign breed used in the public gardens at Agra. Buffaloes cost

from eight to twenty rupees. For small country ponies (*taltu*) from fifteen to thirty are paid. To their breeding, or to that of the inferior class of native horses, little attention is paid. Nor, in the provision of food, is much care wasted. The mare and foal are let loose to pick up what grazing they can on the commons. A better class of horse was till lately produced by a cross between country mares and stallions bred in Government studs. The foals of such unions were on approval bought by the Stud Department, the price at nine or ten months of age being Rs. 129. Some account of the horse-fair held in October-November at Batesar will be found in the Gazetteer article on that town.

Birds.

A collection of local birds, including some 200 species, was presented by Mr. Adam to the defunct Riddell Museum at Agra.[1] The enumeration of these species would be superfluous; but the following deserve notice:—

The *hubára* bustard (*Houbara Macqueenii*) is scarce, but not altogether wanting. The same may be said of the black partridge (kála títar, *Francolinus vulgaris*), which may sometimes be shot amid the tamarisk of the Jumna shore. Colonel G. W. Holdsworth informs the compiler that he has shot painted partridge (*Francolinus pictus*) on the Síkri hills; but these too may be called rare. The grey partridge (títar, *Ortygornis Ponticeriana*), on the other hand, is very common. When not startled into sudden flight it loves to run swiftly along the ground; but is often seen perching in the branches of trees. The large sand-grouse (bara bar-títar, *Pterocles arenarius*) appears in winter; and, when the rainfall of the Panjáb and Rájputána has been scanty, is fairly plentiful. The smaller or common sand-grouse (bar-títar, *Pterocles exustus*) is met with on any sandy plain in the district. It breeds about the beginning of the rains; and its nests may be found about Fatehpur-Síkri. Grey quail (bater, *Coturnix communis*), and small bush-quail (lauwa, *Perdicula Cambayensis*) are neither abundant.[2] The black-breasted or "rain" quail (*Coturnix Coromandelica*) probably inhabits the district all the year round, but is least retiring during the monsoon.[3] Small quantities of common snipe (cháhá, *Gallinago scolopacinus*) visit marshy spots in winter.

At the same season cranes (kulang, *Grus cinerea*) come flying down from the steppes above the Himálaya. They belong to the common European species; and, until driven out be drainage and over-population, were well known in the fenny counties of England. When on the wing they dress their

[1] The contents of this Museum were transferred to the Public Library at Allahabad. When the Library was removed from its former location to the Mayne and Thornhill Memorial, the birds were sold and bought by Mr. E. T. Atkinson, C.S. [2] The latter bird is mentioned by Mr. Benson. [3] Colonel Holdsworth.

lines with a martial regularity which has earned them a notice in more than one poetic description.[1] If the bathos may be forgiven, it may be added that they are good eating. Feeding in the fields at morning and evening, they at night frequent the banks of the Jumna. But if the common crane is good eating, the demoiselle crane (karkara, chhota kulang, *Anthropoides virgo*) is better. Its habits and haunts are the same as those of the bird last mentioned. It, too, is a wide-ranging migrant, which has been known to stray even as far north as Orkney.[2] The redheaded sáras crane (*Grus antigone*) and the gigantic stork, commonly called the adjutant (garúr, *Leptopilos argala*), are permanent residents. The latter is in the warm weather frequently seen about the European barracks at Agra. Both are birds of grave and confiding demeanour; neither is often molested. The flamingo (rájhans, *Phœnicopterus roseus*) is rare, but when obtainable will be found excellent food. Palatable also is the flesh of the warty-headed ibis or black curlew (karbantu, *Geronticus papillosus*), which occurs in pairs or small flocks all over the district.

Grey and barred-headed geese (háns, *Anser cinereus* and *A. Indicus*) are both very common in winter. The black-backed goose (nakta, *Sarcidiornis melanonotus*) has been shot in the neighbourhood of Bichpuri, if nowhere else. The two geese first named, and the ruddy sheildrake (chakwa, *Casarca rutila*) are merely winter visitants, who breed north of India. The discordant cry of the latter bird, called in India the Bráhmani duck,[3] may be heard in the neighbourhood of lagoons and the larger rivers. The red-crested pochard (*Branta rufina*), a duck with a fine talent of pleasing at table, sometimes appears on tanks during the cold weather. At the same season are obtained the spotted-billed duck (jangali batak, *Anas pœcilorhyncha*), the common and blue-winged teal (murghábi, ledi, *Querquedula crecca* and *Q. circia*), and the shoveller) *Spatula clypeata*).

Both the Bengal and the southern green-pigeons (bariál, *Crocopus phœnicopterus* and *C. chlorigaster*) sometimes breed in the district. The blue rock-pigeon (kabútar, *Columba intermedia*) is common. Though a native of the

[1] See, for instance, Matthew Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum*—perhaps the most Homeric of all modern English poems:—

"As when, some grey November morn, the files,
In marching order spread, of long-necked cranes
Stream over Casbin and the southern slopes
Of Elburz, and the Aralian estuaries,
Or some frore Caspian reed-bed, southward-bound,
For the warm Persian seaboard," etc.

[2] *Natural History of the Cranes*, by the late E. Blyth; enlarged by W. B. Tegetmeier; London, 1881, page 27. [3] Why this name should have been given it is impossible to say. The bird has a very wide range, being occasionally shot even in Great Britain; and "Brahmani duck" is not a translation of any vernacular title.

northern hills, the rufous turtle-dove (kála fákhta, *Turtur mœna*) is seen about Agra in the winter. Other doves are the brown (*T. Cambayensis*), the ring (*T. Rasorius*), the red (*T. humilis*) and the spotted (*T. Suratensis*); the last being rather rare.

Plentiful near the foot of the Himálaya, the crested serpent-eagle (*Spilornis cheela*) is not often sighted elsewhere in the plains of these provinces. But a beautiful specimen was once shot in the grounds of the Riddell Museum by the Curator, Mr Carlleyle. Specimens and eggs of the screech-owl (*Strix Javanica*) were obtained by Mr. Adam. The grey horn-bill (*Menicerros bicornis*) is on rare occasions encountered amongst groves of trees. It is commonly called *do-chonch* or two-billed on account of the sharp-pointed casque which surmounts its beak. A far more graceful bird is the Paradise Flycatcher (Husaini bulbul, *Tchitrea paradisi*), whose plumage is at one season bright chestnut, at another pure white. The large black-capped warbler (*Sylvia orphea*) has been seen hopping restlessly about the trees of the Jumna ravines.

The trade in birds is little greater than that in the skins of wild animals, which is none Quails and partridges, live or dead, are sold by fowlers, who also dispose of hares; while on market-days a small business in fancy-pigeons and other pet birds is transacted at Agra.

Fish.

As in the Farrukhabad notice, the scientific identification of the local fish must remain unattempted.[1] But the following eatable kinds are caught in the rivers and reservoirs of the district:—*Rehu*, a sort of carp; *bám*, a sort of eel; *lánchi* or *lanch*; *sonli* or *sául*; *chhenga* or *jhhínga*, a sort of prawn; *patharchatta* or *bandigár*; *ilaichi*, *moh*, *phánkul*, *gentár*, *tengar*, *bhúr*, *gegla*, *bahda*, *khapta*, and *singhi*.

Fishing.

Fish are captured in three methods—by net, by basket, and by hook. Net fishing may be adopted in any weather and requires no ingenuity. The nets (*jál*) used are of five kinds, the *phénkwa*, *bánd*, *jariya*, *tapár*, and *khánch*. They are in most cases frameless, being floated by gourds. Basket-fishing can be successfully practised only when the water is shallow and when little wind disturbs the surface. The baskets are conical or funnel shaped, and may be used by either one or two men. First entering the river, then halting and maintaining a statuesque stillness, the fishers watch for the ripple which indicates the approach of a fish coming upstream towards them. When the hopeful sign appears the

[1] See page 33, note.

mouth of the basket is moved swiftly and softly into the very front of the unsuspecting fish's course. A splash in the water frightens him; and he plunges forwards into the basket, whose mouth is instantly raised. In hook-fishing the apparatus employed is, as usual, the rod and line.

But besides these three methods there are mentioned others more rare and more local. Thus *gegha*, a span long and about a pound in weight, are described as caught by hand amid the holes of limestone (*kunkar*) rocks which the summer-shrunk Jumna has left above watermark. Elsewhere and at night the same natural instrument suffices to entrap fish who have been lured by the light of a torch. An earthen vessel (*hándi*), baited with sweet-smelling stuff, is sometimes the means of capture. Fish are never caught for the sake of their oil, but always as an article of food.

They are eaten by all classes except Bráhmans, Banyas, and ascetics (Bhagat), but Europeans and Bengalis are the principal consumers. The average daily supply at Agra is reckoned at about two maunds, or 164 lbs.; but at Agra alone is such diet daily obtainable. The Jumna and the reservoirs, natural or artificial, are fished all the year round; the pools of the rain-torrents in winter only. A good fish is sometimes extracted from the great well at Fatehpur-Sikri. In Agra city dwell some 70 professional fishermen (Máhígír), who when not employed in fishing work as boatmen. On the other hand, many professional boatmen, such as Dhímars, Kahárs, and Malláhs, devote their leisure to the gentle craft. Outside the capital of the district, though fish-eating castes often catch for their own consumption, there are no professional fishermen. At Agra the retail-dealers, who buy from the professionals, belong, as a rule, to the Khatík caste. They sell fish, according to its variety, at from 1½ to 2 annas the *ser*.[1] In the interior of the district are quoted prices ranging from ½ to 1¼ annas.

Flora.

Disregarding the reptiles, about which there is no peculiarity, and the invertebrate animals, about which next to nothing is known, we pass to the vegetable kingdom. And here, as before, the empirical division into trees and crops will amply suffice our purpose. For the Flora of Agra has been included in the scientific list prefixed to Vol. IV. of this work.

Trees.

In the district are found all the ordinary timber and fruit trees of Upper India. Lists and descriptions of these have been given in other notices.[2] Amongst the commonest

[1] About 2lb avoirdupois.

[2] See for instance Budaun, Gazetteer V., 22-25; Bijnor, *ibid*, 55-66; Gorakhpur, Vol. VI., 334-36, and Basti, *ib.*, 582-86.

growths are the pípal (*Ficus religiosa*), the bargad (*Ficus Bengalensis*),[1] and the gúlar (*Ficus glomerata*) figs, the ním (*Melia Indica*), siras (*Albizzia Lebbek*), mahua (*Bassia latifolia*), shísham (*Dalbergia sissoo*), amaltás (*Cassia fistula*), bakain (*Melia Azedarach*), bair jujube (*Zizyphus jujuba*), bambu (*Bambusa* of species), wild-date (*Phœnix Sylvestris*), babúl acacia (*Acacia Arabica*), the farásh and jháo tamarisks (*Tamarix articulata* and *T. dioica*), the dhák (*Butea frondosa*), mango (*Mangifera Indica*), (*Ægle marmelos*), jáman, (*Eugenia jambolana*), tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica*), lasora (*Cordia myxa*), aonla (*Phyllanthus emblica*), kachnár (*Bauhinia variegata*), khirni (*Mimusops Indica*), and sainjána (*Moringa pterygosperma*), limes and oranges (*Citrus* of species), pomegranates (*Punica granatum*), guavas (*Psidium guava*), custard-apples (*Anona squamosa*), mulberries (*Morus Indica*), karaundas (*Carissa carandas*), fálsas (*Grewia Asiatica*) and peaches (*Prunus Persica*) are all more or less peculiar to gardens.

Price of timber.

The timbers chiefly used in construction are those of the mango and the ním. The farásh, too, is often felled for building purposes; but the supply of shísham is small as compared with the carpenter's demand for that wood. Planks of shísham fetch Rs. 30 the score; of ním, from Rs. 12 to 15, of mango, from Rs. 8 to 10; and of farásh from Rs. 5 to 6 only. For rafters (*kari*) a greater price is of course paid. Those of ním, for instance, realize from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30, and those of farásh from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 the score. Abundance of grass for thatching may be gathered along the banks of Jumna and Utangan. The varieties used for this and rope-making purposes are called *sarpat*, *munj*, *káh*, and *pula*.

The following statement shows the acreage occupied by the different crops of both harvests. The figures were discovered during the measurements which preceded the current assessment of land-revenue; and, though all tahsíls were not surveyed in the same year, may be considered fairly approximate. They are in any case the best figures obtainable.

[1] With whose leaves, according to Milton, our first parents clothed themselves after the Fall—

"The fig-tree; not that kind for fruit renowned,
But such as at this day, to Indians known
In Malabar or Deccan, spreads her arms—
Branching so broad and long that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillared shade
High overarched, and echoing walks between."

Paradise Lost, IX., 1101, *et seqq.*

Harvest and crop.	Scientific name.	Acreage.	Harvest and crop.	Scientific name	Acreage.
AUTUMN (KHARIF).			SPRING (RABI).		
Jodr millet, for grain	*Holcus sorghum* ...	173,303	Wheat (*gehun*) ...	*Triticum vulgare* ..	91,110
Do. do. for fodder (*chari*).	...	5,225	Barley (*jau*) ..	*Hordeum hexasti-chon.*	27,070
Bájra millet ..	*Penicillaria spicata*	143,546	Mixed wheat and barley (*gujái*).	...	10,254
Cotton (*kapás*) ..	*Gossypium herbaceum*	1 5,862	Gram pulse (*chana*)	*Cicer Arietinum* ...	68,330
Sugarcane (*ikh*) .	*Saccharum officinarum*	5,865	Mixed wheat and gram (*gochni*)	...	12,297
Indigo (*nil*) ...	*Indigofera tinctoria*	3 298	Mixed wheat barley, gram,& peas (*bejhar*)	...	17,338
Maize or Indian corn (*makka*).	*Zea mays*	6,758	Peas (*mattar*) ..	*Pisum sativum* ...	1,364
Kangni millet ...	*Panicum Italicum*	1,396	Lentils (*masur*)	*Ervum lens* ...	306
Kodon do.	*Paspalum frumentaceum*	4	Canary-seed (*chena*).	*Panicum miliaceum,*	73
Marua do. ..	*Eleusine coracana*	47	Oilseeds (linseed and others)	Various.	6,145
Sáwán do. ...	*Oplismenus colonus*	189	Tobacco (*tambáku*)	*Nicotiana tabacum,*	930
Kutri ...	*Unidentified*	336	Cummin (*zira*)...	*Cuminum cyminum,*	353
Rice (*dhán*) ...	*Oryza sativa* ..	523	Carrots (*gájar*)	*Daucus carota*	1,361
Moth pulse ..	*Phaseolus aconitifolius*	18,122	Melons, musk, (*kharbúza*) and water (*tarbúza*)	*Cucumis melo* and *C. vulgaris.*	558
Másh or *urd* do.,	,, *radiatus*	2,098	Onions (*piyáz*)	*Allium cepa.*	
Múng do. ..	,, *mungo* ..	703	Henna (*mehndi*).	*Lawsonia inermis*	10
Rawás or *rausa*, do.[1]	*Dolichos sinensis* ..	157	Safflower (*kusúm*)	*Carthamus tinctorius.*	55
Gawár do. ..	*Cyamopsis psoraloides.*	2,066	Garden crops (*kachhiána*).	Various. ...	39
Arhar do.	*Cajanus flavus* ..	689	Add land left fallow for succeeding spring harvest.	...	2,212
Hemp (*san* or *sonaf*)	*Cannabis sativa* ...	1, 46			
Castor-oil plant (*rend*).	*Ricinus communis*...	114	Total Spring ..	...	3,224
Sesamum (*til*) ...	*Sesamum orientale*...	226	Total Autumn ...	...	338,914
Tobacco (*tambáku*).	*Nicotiana tabacum*	154	Grand Total ...	...	483,933
Garden crops (*kachhiána*).	Various.	1 995	Deduct land cultivated at both harvests(*dofasli*)	...	822,847
Sweet potatoes (*shakarkand*)	*Amorphophallus campanulata*	74			
Kachari gourd ..	*Cucumis momordica*		Net cultivated area.	...	36,985
Total autumn harvest.	...	483,933			785,862

[1] Elsewhere called *ramás*, *lobiya*, and *masina*.

Autumn crops.

The staple crops are, then, for the autumn harvest joár, bájra, cotton, and moth; for the spring harvest wheat, barley, gram, and their combinations. The most remarkable points in the autumn list, and, indeed, in the whole statement, are the very large area under cotton and the very small area under rice. An important crop everywhere, the former is grown somewhat more widely in the trans-Jumna than in other tahsíls. The latter, rice, is raised chiefly in Firozabad and Kiráoli. Of the other autumn growths little can be said which has not been said before. The former on lighter, the latter on stiffer soils, bájra and joár are ubiquitous. So, though in far smaller quantity, are sugarcane and indigo; but their cultivation is extending greatly in the neighbourhood of the Agra canal. Maize is rarely encountered except north-east of the Jumna. The principal pulse, moth, is principally grown in Khairágarh and Fatehabad; the másh in Khairágarh and Kiráoli. From the tahsíl last-named is gathered a good deal of gawár. Occupying under 2,000 acres each, the remaining crops need not detain us. But it should be remarked that hemp and arhar would be credited with larger areas if they were not so often sown in the same field as other more important staples. Thus, while monopolizing 689 acres only, arhar shares with joár, bájra, and cotton 104,635 more.

Spring crops.

Of the spring crops even less need be written. Wheat and barley are, when grown by themselves, grown chiefly on the more easily irrigated lands. In tracts like Panáhat, where water lies deep, they are mixed with or give place to gram, peas, and other leguminous plants, whose spreading leaves check the evaporation of moisture. This probably is the explanation of Mr. Evans's rule, that "as the area under wheat diminishes, that under gram or *bejhar* increases." The oil-seeds are rape (*sarson*), *dudn*, mustard (*rái*), *láhi* and linseed (*alsi, tísi*). Though seldom obtaining whole fields to themselves, they in conjunction with other crops occupy 109,711 acres. The small space devoted to garden-growths is one of the minor peculiarities of agriculture in Agra.

These garden-growths consist chiefly of the vegetables and spices raised in the immediate neighbourhood of towns. They include such staples as radishes (*múli*), potatoes (*álu*), turnips (*shalgham*), arwi or ghuiyán (*Colocasia antiquorum*), yams (*ratálu*), chilies (*lál-mirch*), ondives (*kásni*), anise (*sonf*), parsley (*ajmúd*), fenugreek (*methi*), coriander (*dhaniya*), senna (*sana*), garlic (*lahsan*), onions (*piyáz*), divers kinds of pumpkins, gourds and cucumbers, egg-plants (*baingan*), cabbages (*kabi* or *gobi*), cauliflowers (*phúl-kobi*), spinach

(*palak*), beans (*sem*), and fennel (*soyá*). Like the garden-crops, tobacco appears in the lists for both harvests. The reason is that one variety (*Máhi*) becomes ripe about January-February (Mágh), and another (*Jethi*) about May-June (Jeth).

Double-cropped land.

The double-cropped area—the area tilled in the same year for both harvests—amounts, as above shown, to 36,985 acres. It is greatest in Khairágarh, where it includes 11·2 per cent. of the cultivated area; and smallest in Panáhat, where it includes less than 2 per cent. Bájra and gram are the crops which chiefly occupy such land. It is most often, indeed, by the spring gram, though sometimes by the spring *bejhar*, wheat, barley, and oil-seeds, that the autumn bájra is on such land succeeded. The joár of autumn is followed chiefly by wheat, but to a smaller degree by both bejhar and gram. Bejhar, barley, and wheat take the place of cotton; while barley alone is the commonest sequel to indigo and maize. When twice-cropped fields bear garden-stuff in autumn, they bear it as a rule in spring also But in scantily-watered Agra such fields are far rarer than in purely Dúáb districts.

Agriculture.

Little need be added to those general remarks on cultivation which have been made in the Farukhabad notice.[1] The common operations of husbandry have all been described in that or other parts of this series. After due allowance for the local variations of Agra, the accounts elsewhere given of ploughing, harrowing, sowing, weeding, watering, manuring, reaping, threshing, and winnowing, may be deemed sufficiently precise. But a few supplementary paragraphs on ploughing and watering will not be out of place.

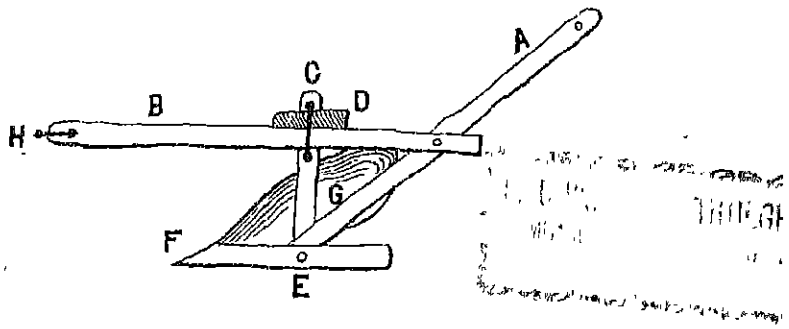
Ploughing.

Before the late changes on its northern borders had somewhat narrowed the district, it contained 72,860 ploughs. But the actual reduction of cultivated area was slight, amounting to some 17,310 acres only; and the average cultivation of each plough was 11·5 acres. We need therefore subtract but 1,505[2] from the former figure, and can set down the present as 71,355. Except in the north of Kiráoli, where the recorded allowance is three, there are two plough-cattle to each plough. But there is reason to believe that in the north of Kiráoli the number of ploughs was underrated.

Sketches of four native ploughs used here and elsewhere in the Agra division will be found in this and the IVth Volume[3] We now give a diagram of

[1] 17,310 ÷ 11·5 = 1,505·7. [2] See Mr. Evans's Settlement Report, para. 50. A report lately (25th August, 1880) submitted by the Collector to the Board of Revenue seems to reduce this 1,505 to 1,085. [3] *Supra* pp. 38-39; IV., 314.

the implement which, adapted from American models, is recommended by the provincial department of Agriculture and Commerce :—



A. The handle (of wood).	E. The sole (of angle-iron).
B. The beam (of wood).	F. The share (of steel).
C. The standard (of iron).	G. The breast (of sheet-iron).
D. The wedge (of wood).	H. The trace-ring (of iron).

THE KAISAR OR EMPRESS PLOUGH.

The iron-ring (H) is attached to the yoke by a rope about 7¼ or 7¾ feet long; but the stiffer the soil and the taller the cattle, the greater the length required. It is always great enough to prevent the driver from steering those cattle with the usual goad, or by the familiar process of twisting their tails. They are therefore guided by reins fastened to their horns.

The virtues of this plough are (1) efficiency, (2) cheapness, (3) lightness, (4) simplicity of structure, and (5) facility of adjustment to varying conditions of draught and soil. (1) With a pair of average bullocks and one driver it can plough half an acre in a day of seven hours, inverting the mould to a depth of 5 inches. By this searching treatment any manure which has been spread is effectually buried. Weeds are killed and thereby become manure. Fresh and unexhausted soil is brought to the surface. The earth is rendered soft and absorbent to a depth which reduces the need of irrigation. The plough, in short, effects *uno ictu* what its native rival can only effect after 10 or 12 ploughings. But it must be admitted that the Indian peasant sets a slight value *on time* and a high value on custom. Let us not be disappointed, therefore, if he continues to prefer a dozen scratchings with the old implement to a single slashing with the new. (2) The price of the latter, when bought of Government at Cawnpore, is Rs. 6 only; and when made up by a native carpenter it would

probably cost but Rs 4½ or Rs. 5. (3) Weighing only 16 sers (about 32lb.), it is easily carried on the ploughman's shoulder; and has a draught, in moderately light soils, of but 62 sers (about 124lb.) on the bullocks. (4) It has no screws or nuts, its attachments being effected by simple rivets; and the steel share is its only part which cannot be repaired or replaced by a native blacksmith. But it is only fair to confess that this share is the most important part of the plough. A sheathless and broken sword is not more effective because a fresh sheath can be picked up on the field of battle. (5) It has been already noted that by shortening or lengthening the rope traces the plough can be adjusted to smaller or larger cattle, lighter or stiffer soils. But it has also other adaptabilities. If its share shows an undue tendency to dig downwards, if the plough travels on its point, that point can be lifted by extracting the wedge (D) and shifting the standard (C) further back towards the handle (A). If, on the other hand, the point inclines to run upwards out of the soil, it can be depressed by moving the standard forward along the beam (B).

The advantage of innovations such as the plough just described has been hotly questioned by European critics in Lower Bengal and elsewhere. It has been asserted that to present the Indian agriculturist with improved tools is like presenting a monkey with a pair of silver nut-crackers. But ridicule is not argument. The superiority of the new implement, when impartially compared with the one-tooth harrow called a native plough, is self-evident. Whether the former is likely to find much favour in the partial eyes of Indian ploughmen is another question.

Irrigation.

Of the cultivated area, 56 per cent. is irrigated.[1] Crops are watered in an ascending degree by rivers, ponds, canals, and wells. The rivers flow, as above noted, too far below the level of the surrounding country to render much service. One of the chief features of Agra being, if it be not a bull to say so, the absence of lagoons and ponds, the area moistened from such reservoirs is quite insignificant. It was before shown that in 1879-80 canals irrigated 26,058 acres, a space which, if considerable, is not great. And, as waterers of the fields, the 70,622[2] wells of the district are easily pre-eminent.

Wells: on what conditions their supply of water depends.

The effectiveness of their irrigation, as of all other irrigation, depends partly on the quantity, partly on the quality of the water available. The quantity, again, depends (1) on the distance of water from the surface; (2) on the character

[1] The proportion in each tahsil will be shown in the Gazetteer article on each. [2] This figure does not include 4,991 wells, which at the time of the assessment survey were used for drinking purposes; or 16,716 others which were out of use.

of the strata which underlie that surface; and (3) on the depth of water in the well itself. For the first and second conditions determine the cost of constructing and maintaining the well; the first and third its irrigating powers when once it has been constructed. (1) Of the first nothing need here be said. The depth of the water-level in different tahsíls has been shown in Part I. (2) But on the second condition, the nature of the strata through which the well is sunk, the settlement report makes some remarks which may be transcribed almost *verbatim*:—

The wells, writes Mr. Evans, are of three classes. the masonry *paka* well, with its shaft of brick-work or stone; the wooden-cylindered (*gadáwali*) well, which is almost confined to the trans-Jumna tract; and the ordinary earthen (*kacha*) well, to whose sides coils of twigs lend sufficient support. A choice between the masonry well, on the one hand, and the gadáwali or earthen well, on the other, depends chiefly on the consistency of the strata pierced. What in different tahsíls the nature of these strata may to some extent, therefore, be guessed from the comparative frequency of the different classes of well. In Itimádpur only 5 per cent. are masonry, while 58 per cent. are gadáwali and 37 per cent earthen. In Firozabad 4 per cent. are masonry, 79 per cent. earthen, and the remainder gadáwali. In Kiráoli, the proportion of earthen wells is 77 per cent, as many as 23 per cent. being masonry In Agra, earthen wells include 87 per cent.; in Khairágarh, north of the Utangan, 89; and in Fatehabad 97 per cent. of the total number. In Khairágarh, south of the Utangan, masonry are to earthen wells as 3 to 2; but in Panáhat as only 1 to 10.

From these facts the following conclusions may be deduced. In the trans-Jumna tract the underlying stratum is almost universally strong firm soil. South of the Jumna, the water lies in earth whose stability clearly increases with the depth to the water-level; the former advantage counterbalancing the latter disadvantage. South, again, of the Utangan we have similar combinations. Khairágarh has its water-level close to the surface; but its sub-soil frequently necessitates the use of masonry. Panáhat, though its water lies at a great depth, is in nine out of ten cases able to effect its irrigation from an earthen well.

(3) The third condition is the depth of water in the well itself. This, for the district at large, averages 9 feet. The tahsíl averages are, Itimádpur and Firozabad, 7 feet; Kiráoli, 10; Agra, 13; Fatehabad, 7; Panáhat, 8; and Khairágarh, 12½. Of the quantity of well-water enough has now been written; and we pass to consider its quality.

Quality of their water.

It may be sweet, brackish (*khárí*) or salty (*telia*). In the trans-Jumna parganas it is generally quite sweet enough for agricultural purposes; but a large proportion of the wells in Kiráoli, and a smaller of those in Agra, are brackish or salty. When and how such wells fail is thus shown by Mr. W. H. Smith. "When the rains are scanty, flooding becomes necessary to soften the ground before ploughing and sowing; and, where water is sweet, a considerable amount of land is probably cultivated in this way during years of drought." "But," where the water is brackish or salt, "the cultivator, in the midst of wells, is for the most part no

better off than if he were in a wholly unirrigable country. The noxious elements of this water destroy the seed and prevent its germination; so that, unless that seed is sown in soil saturated with rain, cultivation is hopeless."

In Kiráoli, however, well-irrigation is impeded not only by brackish water but by a sandy sub-soil. Fatehabad suffers from the insufficient depth of water in its wells; Panáhat from the great distance between surface and water-level; south Khairágarh from the instability, in most places, of its sub-strata. The irrigation of tahsíl Agra, otherwise satisfactory, is somewhat spoilt by brackish water. In Itimádpur and Firozabad, especially the latter, little is left to be desired. Their copious watering proves that the most important of the three conditions just discussed is the nature of the strata pierced. Neither a rather scanty supply of water, nor the necessity of raising that water from a considerable depth, offers any serious obstacle to the general spread of irrigation. All that those two last drawbacks seem to effect is to reduce the area irrigable from each well, and so to raise the cost of irrigation. Witness Panáhat, with water at the greatest depth from the surface, and Fatehabad, with the smallest depth of water in the well. In these tahsíls the area watered by each bucket (*láo*) is but 4 acres, the general average of the district being 5. It should be explained that a well is often worked by more than one bucket.

Defects or advantages of well-irrigation in different tahsíls.

Of the wells used for irrigation 8,082 are wooden-cylindered, 8,056 masonry, and 54,484 earthen or unbricked. The timber-tubed variety is very common in the trans-Jumna tahsíls, not uncommon in Fatehabad, but elsewhere most rare. Its construction costs from Rs. 40 to Rs. 80, and it lasts perhaps for between 10 and 15 years. Its area of irrigation, 6 acres per bucket, is larger than that of either earthen or masonry wells in the same locality. Thus in Fatehabad the earthen well waters only 4 acres; in the trans-Jumna tahsíls the masonry well waters only 5. When not constructed of the usual material, bricks and mortar, masonry wells are built with hewn stone, but without cement. In the former case they are designed to tap the spring, and are called *indára*; in the latter, where percolation is the intended means of supply, their name is *khandua*. The cylinder of the indára is sunk bodily from above; that of the khandua is built up from below. North-east of the Jumna the ordinary brick-work well alone is found; but in the rock-threaded tahsíls of Kiráoli and Khairágarh the stone variety is most common. The average area watered by each bucket of a masonry well is $5\frac{3}{4}$ acres, the averaged figures ranging from below 4 in Panáhat

The three kinds of well: the wooden-tubed or *gadawah*;

The masonry or pakka;

to 7 in Kiráoli. The cost of construction may be reckoned at from Rs. 200 to 300 per bucket; but so many variable conditions affect that cost in individual cases that an average is of little value. The earthen well almost always requires internal support from a coiled lining (*ajár*) of twisted stalks, which may be gathered from the *arhar* pulse, the cotton plant, or the *farásh* tamarisk (*Tamarix articulata*). It irrigates as a rule some 5 acres per bucket. But in Panáhat it fails to attain, while in Kiráoli and the trans-Jumna tahsíls it exceeds this average.

and the earthen, unbricked or *kacha*.

Including the cost of buying and maintaining plant, and a fair share of the cost of buying and maintaining the cattle used at the well, Mr. Benson reckons that the expense of watering 1 acre is Rs. 10 yearly. As the average number of waterings given is five, the cost of one watering may be set down at Rs. 2.

Cost of well irrigation.

So much for general processes of husbandry. A descent from generals to particulars, to the special treatment bestowed on individual crops, is needless. The cultivation of all the principal, and of most the minor staples, has been described elsewhere.[1]

It remains only to show Mr. Benson's careful calculations on the average outturn of the more important growths, and on the average cost of raising them. It was attempted in the Gorakhpur notice to point out some of the difficulties which obstruct the preparation of such estimates. One detail, for instance, of the following table is the average value of outturn. But yearly alterations in the market price of grain make the value of outturn an extremely variable quantity.

Outturn of various crops and cost of their cultivation.

Crop.	Month of sowing.	Month of reaping.	Average outturn per acre.	Value of average outturn per acre.	*Average cost of cultivation per acre.*		
					Rent.	Seed and agricultural processes.	Total.
			Mds.	Rs. a p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Joár millet,	Asárh ...	Aghan ...	8½ grain ... 35 loads straw or stalks.	12 10 4 grain, 5 0 0 stalks	5 0 0	7 4 0	12 4 0
Bájra do,	Asárh and Sáwan.	Kuár and Kárttik.	4¾ grain ... 20 loads stalks.	7 13 0 grain, 1 0 0 stalks	3 0 0	3 3 0	6 3 0

[1] See Gazetteer III., 227-38, IV., 20, 262-65, 524-26; V., 27-9, 270-73, 554-56; VI., 37-38, 320-29, 589-90; and *supra*, 45-8.

Crop.	Month of sowing.	Month of reaping.	Average out-turn per acre.	Value of average out-turn per acre.	Average cost of cultivation per acre.		
					Rent.	Seed and agricultural processes.	Total.
			Mds.	Rs. a p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a p.
Cotton ...	Asárh ...	Kárttik to Mágh.	1¾ cleaned cotton.	16 8 0 cleaned cotton.	5 4 0	13 0 0	18 4 0
			2½ seed ...	2 8 0 seed.			
			30 stalks...	1 8 0 stalks			
Sugarcane,	Mágh and Chait.	Aghan to Phalgun.	16 *gur* syrup.	60 0 0 gur. syrup	7 4 0	0 0 0	57 4 0
				1 12 0 crushed stalks.			
Indigo ...	Jeth and Asárh.	Bhádon and Kuár.	2¾ dye.	24 6 0	5 10 0	12 0 0	17 10 0
Maize ...	Do do	Do do.	10¾	11 11 0	2 8 0	7 0 0	9 8 0
Moth pulse,	Asárh and Sáwan.	Kárttik and Aghan.	4 grain ...	5 4 0 grain	1 12 0	3 4 0	5 0 0
			7 stalks ..	1 12 0 stalks			
Mash do.	Asárh ...	Kárttik ...	3¾ grain ...	5 12 0 grain	1 10 0	3 8 0	5 2 0
			7 stalks...	1 12 0 stalks			
Gaurár millet	Ditto ...	Kuár to Aghan.	3 grain ..	3 0 0 grain	0 15 9	1 6 6	2 6 3
			14 straw...	1 12 0 straw			
Wheat ...	Kárttik ...	Baisákh ..	14¾ grain ...	30 13 8 grain	5 14 0	26 0 3	31 14 3
			15¼ straw ...	3 15 0 straw			
Barley ...	Ditto ...	Chait ...	13½ grain ...	17 5 6 grain	4 14 0	15 7 0	20 5 0
			17 straw...	4 4 0 straw			
Mixed wheat and barley.	Ditto ...	Baisákh ...	11¼ grain ...	25 0 0 grain	5 0 0	18 12 0	23 12 0
			16 straw ...	4 0 0 straw			
Gram ...	Kuár ...	Chait ...	8 grain ...	10 8 0 grain	4 3 0	5 8 0	9 11 0
			8 stalks...	2 0 0 stalks			
Mixed wheat and gram	Kárttik ...	Ditto ...	8¾	13 7 0	3 8 0	6 0 0	9 8 0
Mixed barley, wheat and pulses.	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	12 grain ...	24 0 0 grain	6 0 0	20 0 0	26 0 0
			15 straw ...	5 0 0 straw			

EXPLANATIONS.—Asárh=June-July, the last half of the former and the first half of the latter month; Sáwan=July-August; Bhádon, August-September; Kuár, September-October; Kárttik=October-November; Aghan, November-December; Mágh, January-February; Phálgun, February-March; Chait, March-April; Baisákh, April-May, and Jeth, May-June. A maund=about 82 lb. avoirdupois. A load or *bojh* of tall millet stalks is the sheaf which can be conveniently carried on the head of one man or woman.

Advance of tillage.

Between the outset (1838-41) of the expired and that (1872-80) of the current assessment, cultivation had advanced by about 2·56 per cent. In the last 40 years, that is, it has increased from nearly 766,400 to nearly 786,000 acres But, in this comparison between past and present, absolute exactness is for several reasons impossible. At the time of the former assessment much of the area usually cultivated had been laid waste by the "ninety-four" famine. In Panáhat and almost every other tahsíl were unassessed tracts, of which surveyors then took no heed. There are, moreover, discrepancies in the measurement of the areas for which at both dates statistics are forthcoming. But after making the necessary deduction ('05) for such discrepancies, the increase of tillage still stands at 2·51 per cent. It is distributed over every tahsíl except Khairágarh, where, south of the Utangan, the recorded area of cultivation has diminished. The poor soil of this tract, the paucity of its inhabitants, and the impossibility of any great advance in its irrigation, may have induced some of its agriculturists to seek other fields of labour. But there is reason to suppose that in the cultivated area of the former assessment "new fallow" was included. If so, and if the present new fallow be added to the present cultivation, Khairágarh has not retrograded. It has merely remained stationary; while the general increase in tillage has been somewhat greater than that just shown. The extension was most marked in northern Kiráoli, late Farah.

The wax or wane in the cultivation of individual crops has been too slight to call for comment. But it may be broadly said that wheat and cotton have gained, while autumn millets have lost ground. As the irrigation of the Agra canal extends, the growth of indigo, sugarcane, and other precious crops may be expected to extend with it. Since the beginning of the last assessment, and on the area for which comparative statistics are available, general irrigation seems to have advanced by 46,710 acres, or nearly 12 per cent. While declining in Khairágarh and Fatehabad, its area has in every other tahsíl become greater.

Checks on that advance: *reh*, weeds, and floods.

From the advance of agriculture we turn to the reverses which have checked that advance. Amongst such reverses no increase in the efflorescence of *reh* salts, no blight, no spread of *kdns* grass or other weeds, need be reckoned. Our time and space are too limited to deal with visitations that have been limited in both space and time. Floods, moreover, seldom cause much mischief. The beds of the Jumna and Chambal lie too deep to allow those rivers the chance of flooding any wide-spread tract. While fatal to autumn tillage, their inundations often deposit a

fertile silt from which the spring crop profits. The damage wrought by the floods of the Utangan, in days when the Fatehpur-Sikri reservoir was the centre of a small irrigation system, has been described under the head of canals.

Droughts.

A district whose irrigation depends so greatly on natural rainfall has, of course, been greatly sensitive to drought. The famine of 1783-84 seems to have chosen Agra as a chief point of attack.[1]

Famines and scarcities of 1783-84, 1813-14.

A more or less complete failure of the autumn and spring crops in the preceding year (1812-13) became in 1813-14 the cause of severe distress. Tahsil Khairágarh, where every stream and pond were dry, was the locality which suffered most. If Esau's hunger was great, that of the Agra peasantry was greater. Whilst he sold his birthright for a dish of *masúr dál* (red lentils pottage), they sold their women and children for a single meal of less palatable pulses or grains. As might have been expected, when many landlords were unable to pay for food, the land tax fell into arrears. The Collector attempted, by imprisoning the defaulters, to increase their solvency. This measure may have been impolitic, but it was not cruel. "One of the landholders plainly told me that he did not wish to quit the jail, as he had not been so well off for the last two years."[2] The prices of grain during the affected years were these:—

Year.	Weight purchaseable for one rupee.							
	Wheat.		Barley.		Gram.		Rice.	
	Sers	chhatáks	S.	chh.	S.	chh.	S.	chh.
1812 ...	33	14	50	15	48	5	19	7
1813 ...	20	9	25	3	21	7	15	10
1814 ...	30	7	44	11	33	1	18	14
1815 ...	41	9	62	7	47	15	20	3

1819, 1825, 1826.

During the scarcity of 1819, though the prices of wheat and gram were 17 and $20\frac{9}{10}$ sers respectively, the district was exporting grain. But as the arrears of land-tax amounted in July to Rs. 2,01,718, there seems to have been distress. In 1825-26 Agra again suffered from cloudless skies and dear food. The drought of 1837 and the famine of 1837-38 were sharply felt.

1837-38.

It has been elsewhere[3] mentioned that this was the first dearth in which famine-relief on modern principles was attempted. In February, 1838, the average

[1] Girdlestone's *Report on Past Famines in the North-Western Provinces*, [2] Collector to Board, July 14th, 1814. [3] *Supra*, p. 53.

daily number of paupers relieved was 3,800. Special relief works, such as the construction of a strand road along the river front of the district capital, were authorized. "Agra," writes Major Conran,[1] in one of his sesquipedalian sentences, "was now the focus of misery. Here the famine had culminated in the concentration of tens of thousands (more than 300,000 besides the usual inhabitants), attracted from throughout the Dúáb in the hope of aid from the Government, until this mass of pestilential humanity created an epidemic which swept away from two or three hundred a day for months." At the end of March, 1838, the relief committees were supporting some 4,000 helpless starvelings, while Government was providing daily work for about 77,500 of the able-bodied. Yet, despite all these measures, deaths from hunger and disease were occurring at the rate of 150 a day. In mid-June, though rain had fallen, 73,604 labouring and 40,000 infirm paupers depended on charity for their daily bread. But with the appearance of a flourishing autumn crop distress abated and vanished.

The remissions of land-tax for 1837-38 reached, according to the Board of Revenue, Rs 10,02,767, but according to Colonel Baird Smith[2] more than twice that sum. From the Calcutta Relief Fund Agra received Rs. 27,000. The amount spent on relief-works by Government was estimated at Rs. 13,20,000. The average price of wheat in 1837-38 was 17⅜ sers, the highest being 11½ sers. The uneducated native recognizes few great landmarks of chronology; but amongst such landmarks he still reckons the *chálisa* and the *chaurdnave*. The first, or '40, was the famine of 1783-84 (1840 Sambat era); the last, or '94, that of 1837-38 (1894S.) For many years later considerable drought prevailed; and to the deficiency of rain in several successive years was ascribed the proved subsidence of the water-level. Government granted large advances for the sinking of deep masonry wells and encouraged irrigation projects. To such encouragement were due the abortive canals tapped from the Utangan.

1860-61.

Drought and famine delivered their next assault in 1860-61; but from the dearth of that year Agra suffered far less severely than *some other districts of the North-Western Provinces.* In April, 1861, special relief-works at Agra afforded daily employment to 18,000 hungry labourers, and irrigation-works to nearly 2,000 more. Up to the 31st July, when an ample rainfall had relieved anxiety and reduced prices, 990,033 persons had been relieved at a cost of Rs 73,375. Almost all this sum came from local charity, and, through the Agra Central Relief Committee, from a Mansion House Fund in London. The share contributed by the State was

[1] *Life of Wheeler.* [2] See his report on the Famine of 1860-61.

quite insignificant. But on special relief works of its own Government spent Rs. 74,365 more, thereby finding employment for 445,419 paupers. Out of its large surplus the Central Relief Committee allotted Rs. 20,000, for the purchase of seed and stock, to the needy husbandmen of Agra. The remissions ultimately granted, on a total land-tax of Rs. 16,16,502, amounted to Rs. 64,339 only. The average price of wheat, from August 1860 to July 1861 inclusive, was $11\frac{15}{31}$ sers the rupee; the minimum being $9\frac{3}{4}$ sers in September and the maximum 15 sers in July. All evidence tends to prove that the scarcity of 1860-61 was trifling as compared with the Chaurásave famine.

Thirsting fields and dear food were again bemoaned in 1868-69.[1] The rainfall of the year was 14·1 inches only. Of this Fatehabad and Panáhat obtained in September a sufficiently copious share. But, save in those tahsíls, autumn crops could be reaped and spring crops sown on watered lands only. Showers in January and succeeding months ensured a three-quarter vernal harvest. But in March some damage and more anxiety were caused by hailstorms, which necessitated a small remission of revenue in Firozabad. The pinch of dearth was, to judge from tariffs of prices, first felt in September, 1868. Khairágarh, Kiráoli, and Itimádpur were the tahsíls which suffered most. Even, however, where distress was greatest, none but a few of the poorest classes emigrated. Herein Agra was a contrast to the native states on west and south. In the early months of 1869 streams of famine-stricken fugitives from Gwáliár, Dholpur, and Bhartpur, hastened through the district to seek cheap food beyond. A local relief society, independent of the Allahabad Central Committee, was constituted. Its poorhouse at Agra opened on 22nd January and closed on 12th November, 1869. During that period 58,500 people, or about 198 daily, were relieved at a cost of Rs. 3,391. If strong enough the men were made to weave and the women to spin. A further sum of Rs. 1,930 was allotted towards the daily support of some 159 women whose real or assumed rank forbade them to leave the harem; whilst a few lepers were kept alive at the Agra Leper Asylum. The committee spent altogether Rs. 10,374, of which Government had contributed Rs. 2,000. But Government disbursed also, on relief-works of its own, Rs. 12,103. On the Agra canal excavations, on some engineering tasks in the Agra cantonments, and on roads and tanks in the district, daily employment was provided for about 410 persons. The total sum expended in relief, whether by Government or the local committee, may

1868-69.

[1] Henvey's Narrative of the Drought and Famine in the North-Western Provinces, 1868-70, pp. 21-26.

be set down at Rs. 24,500. Long after relief operations had ceased prices continued high. Taking the period between July, 1868 and March, 1870, both inclusive, we find that the average price of wheat was $11\frac{9}{16}$ sers the rupee; of barley $17\frac{3}{16}$; of gram $12\frac{3}{16}$; of *joár* millet $16\frac{1}{4}$; and of *bájra* millet $14\frac{5}{8}$. Wheat attained its highest price ($8\frac{15}{16}$ sers per rupee) in December, 1869, and gram ($9\frac{45}{64}$ sers) in the same month; barley (14) in November and December, 1868; and joár (11) and bájra ($9\frac{1}{2}$) in July, 1869. One great feature of scarcity was the vast weight of grain which traversed Agra on its way to famine-stricken Rájputána. The imports into Agra city, for both local consumption and re-exportation, were enormous. The octroi returns of the municipality show 2,430,016 maunds, the East Indian Railway returns 1,796,552. Some doubt has been thrown on the correctness of these figures; but so far as they indicate a gigantic traffic they are probably correct. Native merchants estimated the re-exportations at 1,400,000 maunds. Over 700,000 are known to have passed the since destroyed Customs-hedge during the first two-thirds of 1869.

The next and last drought will long be remembered as one of the severest, if not the severest, which the district has suffered in this century. Judged by the rate of mortality, the dearth of 1877-78 rises to the rank of a famine. The produce of the preceding agricultural year had been largely exported to the hunger-stricken districts of Madras and Bombay; and from November 1876 to May 1877 the prices of the principal food-grains steadily rose.[1] In June, when the monsoon of most years arrives, fell less than half an inch of rain. In the beginning of July a downpour of over $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches seemed to proclaim that the pluvial season had fairly set in. But the disappearance of the moistening clouds was as rapid as their appearance had been tardy. After a few days they were dispersed by a furious and scorching blast from the west. Towards the end of the month symptoms of distress became visible; and in the larger towns the beggars grew as numerous and importunate as in the Strada San Giovanni at Malta.

and 1877-78.

In August the situation became more serious. The southward export from these provinces continued; it was reckoned that but 2 per cent. of the ordinary autumn crop would be harvested; the store of grain in the district could last for six months only; and prices were steadily rising. By the end of the month the poorer classes found it almost impossible to buy their daily meal, and quite impossible to sell their labour in fields whose cultivation was suspended

[1] See *Report on the Scarcity and the Relief Operations in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 1878-79: Allahabad; Government Press, 1880.

for want of rain. From the middle of June to the middle of September but 2·8 inches had fallen. Relief measures, which by this time had become sorely needful, were started on the 16th of the month last-named. When perfected by experience, the principles which governed such operations were chiefly and briefly these:—(1) Labour, on public works and on the smallest subsistence wages, for the able-bodied. (2) Food without labour, in poorhouses, for the old or otherwise infirm; and money, in payment of light feminine tasks,[1] for such women as by the custom of their class live secluded. (3) Special concessions, such as advances for the purchase of seed and cattle, to the agricultural orders.

The sturdier paupers were now or afterwards employed on the Mathurá and Achhnera Railway, on the repair or improvement of nearly 30 district roads, on the canal escape at Jaina, and on several miscellaneous works, such as the river embankment at Agra and the cleansing of tanks in that and other towns. The only poorhouse at first available was the municipal poorhouse at Agra; but similar establishments were afterwards opened at Iradatnagar, Fatehabad, Firozabad, Fatehpur-Sikri, Bah, and Jagner.

Meanwhile the parching wind of September had destroyed all crops save those on irrigated land; and want was swiftly increasing. The principal sufferers were of course the petty cultivators. The mortality amongst plough-cattle was a calamity which afterwards hampered tillage considerably. The withered stalks of the abandoned crops, the leaves of trees, or the thatch scraped from the roofs of cottages, proved but a poor substitute for the usual fodder. Not a blade of grass could be seen. Even water was becoming daily more difficult to obtain from the rapidly drying ponds and wells. To find food for themselves and their beasts many of the peasantry emigrated, chiefly towards Central India. For in that direction lies Málwa, the Cathay of the Indian cultivator; a land whereto the romances concerning its ancient rulers, Vikram and Bhoj, ascribe a fabulous plenty. In return, as it were, for those who left this district, there flocked in, clamouring for work, a host of immigrants from adjoining native states.[2]

But the small agriculturists were not the only sufferers. The shoe pinched even the well-to-do, whose private charity became more and more contracted. The artisan could find no market for his wares. Nothing was in demand save flour and the money wherewith to buy it. Of other food, wholesome but unacceptable to Hindús, some small quantity was indeed

[1] *E g*, cotton-spinning. [2] The Commissioner reckoned that of the persons relieved during the famine about 26·5 per cent. belonged to native states, 9 per cent. to other British districts, and the remaining 64·5 per cent. to Agra itself.

forthcoming. It was suggested by certain speakers in England that the Indian Government should be held personally responsible for every life lost. Had they remembered that eggs, fowls, and other animal food were available, these orators would perhaps have felt that there was little room for complaint. But the Chamárs and Koris, who were the principal receivers of relief, refuse to touch such diet. Not that Chamárs are by any means clean feeders. In Rohilkhand, and during the same scarcity, Captain Pitcher saw a comparatively fat Chamár child sucking a female pariah dog. The child's relatives were looking on with approval.[1]

At the beginning of October the number of those needing relief was still steadily rising. But as soon as the fate of the autumn crop in this and other districts became known with certainty, importations from Bengal and the Panjáb began to arrest the rise in prices. And, before October was in its teens, a timely and general fall of rain enabled cultivators to plough and sow their fields for the winter harvest. In buying cattle and seed they were helped by liberal advances from Government. So much land had lain fallow in autumn, and was therefore ready for a spring crop, that the sowings covered an area far beyond that of ordinary years. The able-bodied began to desert the relief-works and seek field-labour near their own homes. In the same month the scale of wages paid on those relief-works was reduced, while payment was made dependent on the performance of an allotted task. But considerable daily numbers still preferred the labour provided by Government.

In December the distress which had abated began again to augment. With the fall of winter rain the necessity for irrigation ceased, and hundreds who had found employment in watering the fields were left without work and without food. But the dislike of task labour, the prospect of a magnificent spring-harvest, and the abundant growth of green food (*ság*), prevented the relief-works from being peopled with that thickness which might have been expected. The rain was, moreover, followed by severer cold than had been known for many years; and the villagers perhaps preferred hunger to going abroad in weather which to the inhabitants of a sub-tropical region seemed arctic. But thatch for roofing, straw for bedding, and money for blankets were all wanting. The chill of a damp winter, acting on frames weakened by insufficient or innutritious food, soon told its tale. The poor-houses filled with paupers who had become too infirm for hard work; while those who were still fit for hard work began to see its advantage. In March, 1878, the number

[1] *Note on the Mortality in Rohilkhand*, p. 326 of report last quoted.

on relief works reached its highest, while that in poor-houses became higher than it had ever been before. In the four months ending with that month the mortality had been disastrously heavy.

Meanwhile the spring crop was rising apace. At the end of January there seemed the prospect of a bumper harvest. In February carrots and radishes became sufficiently cheap and abundant to form the principal diet of the people. Hope revived; but in the same month rain developed blight, while high winds shrivelled the ears of the cereals. The result was that, in spite of the large acreage sown, the spring outturn was below that of an average year. For a time, however, the demand for harvesting labour almost cleared the relief works; for a time, as new grain came into market, prices declined. But the close of the harvest and the export to other provinces soon checked both of these improvements. Danger had indeed disappeared, but the ordinary food of the poorest classes was selling at a price beyond their means, and the applicants for relief grew daily more numerous.

Through May and into June the muster continued to mount. But at the close of the latter month and in the beginning of July the intense heat was followed by rain; and the operations for the autumn harvest began. A temporary spell of fine weather caused some anxiety; and the relief-works, whose attendance had during the sowings waned somewhat, were again crowded. But towards the end of July fell water sufficient to encourage the resumption of agriculture. The necessity for State relief had almost ceased; and all save three of the relief-works were closed. Applicants for labour were not, however, wanting. Their multitude caused inquiries which showed that the rate of wages offered by Government was too liberal as compared with that offered by private agricultural employers. The result was the introduction here and elsewhere of a scale which, as the lowest hitherto found possible, deserves detail. Adult males received the price of about 1¼lb. (10 *chhatáks*) of flour + about ¾*d.* (6 pies) for condiments; women or big children the price of 1lb. (8 chhatáks) +about ½*d.* (4½ pies); and small children the price of about ½lb. (4 chhatáks) +about ¼*d.* (2 pies).

The alteration just mentioned greatly reduced the number of paupers on the relief-works. But this effect was partly due also to an improvement in agricultural prospects. In August the early millets[1] were coming into market, and prices were falling. Though the autumn outturn would be deficient, there was no reason for fearing a serious failure. Between the middle of June and September 15·7 inches of rain had fallen, as against the 2·8 of the

[1] *E.g.*, maize and *kangni*.

preceding year. The harvest of the principal autumn crops proved good. Exportation to Bombay heightened their prices; but this dearness went far to recoup the agricultural classes for the losses sustained in 1877. The signs of distress rapidly vanished. The muster on relief works fell from 20,490 in September to 7,948 in October; that in poor-houses from 69,847 to 16,140. At the end of October the only relief-work still open was the canal-escape at Jarua. In November even this was closed; but the poor-houses at Agra continued open for some time longer.

By November, indeed, the scarcity had completely died out. It is true that, owing to the dryness of the following winter, prices remained high; but they recovered something of their normal standard with the harvesting of the spring crops in 1879. Of the principal grains, wheat, barley and gram had attained their highest values ($10\frac{15}{32}$, $11\frac{31}{32}$, and $11\frac{30}{32}$ *sers* to the rupee respectively) in September 1877; common rice ($6\frac{1}{2}$ sers) in May, June, and July 1878; the *bájra* and *jodr* millets ($7\frac{1}{2}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ sers respectively) in the month last-named. The average prices for the ten years ending with 1878 had been these: wheat, $17\frac{9}{16}$ sers; barley, $24\frac{9}{16}$; gram, $21\frac{6}{16}$; common rice, $11\frac{13}{16}$; bájra, $19\frac{13}{16}$; and joár, $22\frac{9}{16}$. The mortality due to the combined action of high prices and unusual cold was, as already implied, highest during the winter of 1877-78. The Sanitary Commissioner calculates that the death-rate per mille attained in 1878 the alarming figure of 57·15; and according to Mr. D. T. Roberts's special report[1] on this subject it was probably greater. But many of the casualties must be credited to a virulent outbreak of small-pox, and to the unusual activity of the usual autumn fever. The mortuary records seem to show that considerable distress prevailed in the Bráhman and Rájput castes, who were too proud to frequent the relief-works in any force.

That Government spared no sacrifice in grappling with the famine is proved by the following figures. On relief labour were disbursed Rs. 2,03,990, not including the sum (Rs. 1,53,833) which the Public Works Department would at ordinary rates have spent on the various projects undertaken. The exact number of people thus relieved it is impossible to tell; but by counting twice or oftener the same persons employed at different times on different works, the returns show 4,022,755. The total expenditure on poor-houses was Rs. 1,05,459, of which Rs. 8,548 only proceeded from private subscriptions. Here again it would be impracticable, without counting the same paupers more than once, to show the total number benefited; but the attendance for August 1878 alone amounted to 209,507. The charity bestowed on

[1] *Note on the Mortality of the Agra Division*, p. 373 of the report last quoted.

secluded women cost the State Rs. 2,400 more.[1] Altogether, then, the famine may be said to have saddled the public exchequer with a loss of Rs. 3,03,200. To increase that loss by any suspensions or remissions of land-revenue was deemed unnecessary. The Government advances in aid of cultivation were a temporary charge which need merely be mentioned in passing.

The behaviour of the people throughout their trial was most orderly. Thefts of course increased; but such crimes were usually of a petty nature, and not so the hunger which prompted them. The visitation probably left the survivors in better circumstances than before. On every ground, of humanity as well as expediency, the rulers of a country are bound to defend the ruled from starvation; but it cannot be denied that famine closes the *bouches inutiles* and results in a survival of the fittest. A population which is deterred by no prudential sanction from increasing in excess of the means of subsistence soon forgets its bereavements. It finds consolation in the fact that the labour-market is no longer overstocked; that the small holding suffices to support in comfort the reduced number who depend on it. A less obvious remark is that, unlike its predecessors, this dearth arose from the failure of the autumn crop alone. All former famines, deserving that name, seem to have had their origin in the loss of the spring as well as of the autumn harvest. In the unusually frequent fluctuations which varied the intensity of distress may be found another peculiarity of the 1877-78 calamity.

Mineral kingdom: sandstones.

The only important or exceptional mineral produce of Agra is its stone. This, which has furnished material for more than one stately palace or tomb, is quarried in both the Kiráoli and the Khairágarh tahsíls. But the best kinds of red and white sandstone come chiefly from the south-west corner of the latter; from the villages of Tántpur, Ghaskáta, Baghaur, Basai-Jagner, Nasaua, Kareki, Nayágáon, and Dhanina. Such varieties will bear graving, and can be hewn into doorposts, lintels, pillars, beams, slabs for roofing or other wrought material. Stone of the quality used in building common walls is obtainable almost everywhere in the hills; but may be found also in those villages where, as at Pahári-Kalán and Chandsaura, the rock crops out on the surface. From these two last-named quarries of Khairágarh, and from the hills of Noni, Meoli, and Bidhauli in the same tahsíl, are got the best millstones, oil-presses, and sugar-mills.[2]

The price of fine sandstone, at the quarry itself, is for the white or grey variety Rs. 7 and for the red variety Rs. 5 or 6 per hundred maunds. But the

[1] Mr. Commissioner Webster's letter No. $\frac{2059}{507}$, dated 8th July 1879. The preceding figures have been taken from the Government Report.

[2] The millstone is called *chakki*; the oil-press and sugar-mill *kolhu*.

blocks or slabs are in most cases not actually weighed. A sufficiently accurate estimate of their ponderosity is formed from their cubic measurement. Thus, if its dimensions be 66″ × 33″ × 1½″, a rough-hewn slab of red stone is reckoned to weigh three maunds. The price at Agra of the best stone from Khairágarh and Bhartpur[1] is, for the grey variety, about Rs. 50 or 52 the hundred maunds; for the red about Rs. 34 or 35. When it is mentioned that the cost of carriage can in the worst seasons hardly exceed Rs. 22, it will be seen how large is the stone-dealer's profit. There are, however, finer slabs and blocks which are sold by tale and not by estimated weight. Such are the *langotiya* and the *chauka*, whose respective prices range according to quality and colour from Rs. 12½ to 15 and from Rs. 20 to 24 the hundred. By tale, too, at Rs. 2½ the thousand pieces (*kanda*) is bought common building-stone.

The more valuable quarries, those for instance at Tántpur, Basái-Jagner, and Baghaur, are worked by members of the carpenter (Barhái) caste. Each man pays the lord of the manor a seignoralty which, according to the locality and the colour of the stone, varies from Rs. 2½ to Rs. 4½ yearly. The quarries lie on the unassessed waste of the village, on what in England would be called the commons, and the landlord cannot be deemed the sole owner of the stone. It is therefore, perhaps, only just that beyond this small fee the quarrymen should have nothing to pay. But, as the quarries are deserted during the rains, the charge is not so small as it seems. It is paid by the regular quarryman alone, and not by the labourers whom he employs in removing rubbish. Four or five quarrymen often work in partnership, sharing profits equally. When breaking ground on a new working, or at the outset of a fresh season, they often receive an advance from the stone-dealer's agent (*beopári*). The latter buys the stone at the quarry and carts its off to the place of consignment. A quarry accountant (*patwári*) collects for the landlord an additional due (*katái*) of a few pies on each cart: the money coming, of course, from the pocket of the stone-dealer.

As compared with those of Khairágarh, the Kiráoli quarries are inferior. From both Síkri and Bandrauli ranges is hewn the red sandstone called *khari*[2] or *rawábia*. But, though furnishing material for grindstones (*sil*), millstones, sugarmills, and road rammers (*durmat*), for common walls, and for the doorposts and lintels of the surrounding villages, this rock will not take graving. The red or bluish stone found at Dhanauli and Ninwáya villages has the additional disadvantage of being too hard for general masonry. In this tahsíl

[1] The most famous Bhartpur quarries are those of Rúpbas

[2] It seems, therefore, that this term is not exclusively applied to chalk.

unfinished handmills fetch 8 annas, sugarmills from Rs 10 to 15, and pieces of building stone Rs. 5 the thousand.

Limestone.

Extensive beds of the soft limestone known to *Anglo-Indians* as "block *kankar*," and to the natives of the district as *dánt*, are found in the Chambal ravines of tahsíl Panáhat. With square-hewn lumps of this material are built the Bhadáwar rája's castle at Panáhat, the Trigonometrical Survey tower at Hathánt, and several other slightly noteworthy structures. The price per stack (*phari*) of $5 \times 5 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits[1] is about Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$. The nodular form of the same limestone is known as *kankar* simply. This, the material with which roads are metalled, may be dug up all over the district; but in quality it varies considerably. The kind most commonly used is that known as *bichhua* or scorpion-shaped. The cost of kankar stacked beside the road differs, of course, with the distance of the quarry. To reach Agra city the limestone must travel some three or four miles, and here, therefore, its price is high, ranging from Rs $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per 100 cubic feet. The average price beside the road, in other parts of the district, is about Rs. $2\frac{3}{8}$ only. The cost of metalling a mile of road with a layer of kankar 12 feet wide and 6 inches deep would, including the cost of consolidation, be about Rs. 1,050. Lime (*chúna*), burnt for building purposes from kankar, can be cheaply procured almost everywhere. It costs from 8 to 12 rupees the hundred maunds, the higher being the Agra price.

Bricks and other building material.

Bricks are manufactured, as occasion requires, at most places in the district. But at Agra countless ruins and the old deserted kilns render any fresh manufacture almost unnecessary. The only bricks here made are those of special patterns, such as used by the Public Works Department. At Firozabad, however, are a good many busy kilns. The dimensions of the *gúna* brick are here as elsewhere[2] $12'' \times 6'' \times 3''$. When prepared on a table it sells at Rs. 9 per mille; when undressed and prepared on the ground, at Rs. $5\frac{1}{2}$. The small thin bricks called *kukaiya*, of which native houses are often built, cost from 8 annas to 1 rupee the thousand. A thousand round tiles usually fetch, according to their size, from 1 to 2 rupees; a thousand flat tiles from Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4. The price of building-wood falls not under the heading of minerals, and has been shown above under that of trees. But from the material of their dwellings we must now pass to the people themselves, and to details which, as the proper study of mankind is man, should be found of greater interest.

[1] A cubit is half a yard; and the mason's yard (*imarati gaz*) here measures 33 inches.
[2] *Supra*, p. 58; preceding volume, p. 609.

PART III.

INHABITANTS, INSTITUTIONS, AND HISTORY.

SOME figures attached to Mr. Mansel's *Settlement Report* of 1841 seem to show that the district had then a population of 424 to the square mile; but his calculations for two of the tahsíls are clearly wrong. A first regular census was taken in 1847. Effected, however, on the rudest and crudest principles, it neglected even to show apart the numbers of the different sexes and ages. The first enumeration of any real value was that taken in 1853. In spite of later transfers from tahsíl Farah to Muttra, and from Muttra to tahsíl Itimádpur, the area of the district (1,864·9 square miles) was then very much the same as now. The population was returned as 1,001,961, or about 537 to the square mile; and the details may be thus summarized :—

1853.

	Agriculturists.		*Non agriculturists.*		*Total.*		Grand total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Agriculturists.	Non-agriculturists.	
Hindus ...	315,239	256,987	177,098	146,714	5,72,226	3,23,812	8,96,038
Musalmáns ...	13,551	11,521	42,533	38,318	25,072	80,851	1,05,923
Total ...	328,790	2,68,508	219,631	185,032	5,97,298	4,04,663	1,001,961

There were 1,143 parishes or townships (*mauza*). The city, suburbs, and cantonments of Agra contained 125,262 inhabitants; Firozabad, 12,674; Fatehpur-Sikri, 10,136; and Panáhat, 7,047. But no other place could boast over 5,000 people.

The next census, that of 1865, recorded for the first time details as to castes and occupations, the proportion of children to adults, and other important statistics. The returns showed an increase, since the preceding census, of 8·6 square miles and 26,583 inhabitants. The latter were classified as follows :—

1865.

Class.	Agricultural.					Non-agricultural.					Grand total.
	Males.		*Females.*		Total.	*Males.*		*Females.*		Total	
	Adults	Boys.	Adults	Girls		Adults	Boys.	Adults.	Girls.		
Hindús ...	190,556	107 053	161,577	89,281	548,477	134,124	71,196	112,398	60,318	377,976	926,453
Musalmáns and others ...	6,792	4,200	5,915	3,260	20,167	27,754	15,003	25,630	13,696	81,984	102,091
Total ...	197,348	111,253	170,492	92,531	568,584	161,878	86,500	137,958	73,114	459,960	1,028,544

Besides the population here shown there were 2,792 Europeans and 625 Eurasians. The density to the square mile was 549. Of the 1,143 parishes 896 had less than 1,000, and 237 from 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. The ten towns with a population of over 5,000 were Agra (142,661), Firozabad (13,163), Fatehpur-Sikri (8,600), Agwar of tahsíl Itimádpur (7,456), Kotila of tahsíl Firozabad (7,120), Panáhat (6,124), Khairágarh (5,416), Fatehpur-Jhingára of tahsíl Karaoli[1] (5,402), Khandauli (5,365), and Reha-Barenda of tahsíl Panáhat (5,349). It should, however, be noted that the last place is not a single parish, but a combination of two, whose inhabited sites are supplied by about two dozen hamlets.

1872. The penultimate census was taken in 1872, and its statistics may be briefly tabulated thus:—

Religion.	*Males.*			*Females.*			Grand total.
	Adults.	Below 15 years.	Total.	Adults.	Below 15 years.	Total.	
Hindus ...	326,920	206,549	533,469	282,466	169,548	452,014	985,483
Musalmáns ...	34,609	21,276	55,375	32,551	19,209	51,760	107,135
Christians ...	287	331	618	380	468	848	1,466
Total ...	361,306	228,156	589,462	315,397	189,225	504,622	1,094,084

Of the Hindus 467,762 (212,731 females) and of the Musalmáns 12,261 (5,527 females) were returned as agriculturists, while the remainder of both creeds was classed as non-agricultural. But as usual, and for the same reason as elsewhere, the number of agriculturists was greatly under-rated. Very many of the cultivators eke out their earnings by non-agricultural pursuits, and were therefore returned as non-agricultural. The great urban population of Agra city of course reduces the proportion of those who get their living from the land; but the real quota of agriculturists must have amounted to something much larger than 48·9 per cent. of the total population. It will be seen that of that population 90·1 per cent. were Hindús, 9·8 Musalmáns, 53·9 males and 46·1 females.

The total area had by 1872 risen to 1,907 square miles, and the density of the population was 574[2] to the mile. Of the 1,231 parishes, 947 had under 1,000 inhabitants, while 279 had between 1,000 and 5,000. The five towns

[1] This village would more correctly have been styled Jhingára-Basaiya. [2] Thus the census report. In Mr. Evans's settlement report the figure is for some reason reduced to 550.

which had over 5,000 were Agra (140,008), Firozabad (14,255), Fatehpur-Síkri (6,878), Panáhat (6,571), and Khandauli (5,704). The last is entered under the name of the adjoining parish, Semra.

In 1878, before the term of this census had expired, occurred the large territorial changes above noticed.[1] These changes left the district a population of 1,071,427, distributed at a density of about 580·4 to the mile over an area of 1,845·7 square miles. It is assumed, of course, that the population had remained stationary since the date of the census; but for the purpose of such calculations this postulate is the only possible postulate.

1878 and 1881.

The last census was taken in February of the present year (1881). It showed, after all allowance for the slightly reduced area, a marked decrease of population. Detailed statistics have not as yet been published, but the total number of inhabitants is returned as 974,892. Their distribution amongst the seven tahsíls and their density to the square mile may be shown thus :—

Tahsíl.	Population.	Density per square mile.
Bámádpur	142,028	512·3
Firozabad	108,510	534·0
Panáhat	120,668	363·1
Fatehabad	104,812	434·3
Agra	266,321	1321 0
Kiráoli	114,486	421·2
Khairágarh	118,127	382 5
Total ...	974,892	528·2

The density is in the Agra tahsíl greatly raised by the population (159,948) of Agra city and cantonments. The present number of villages or parishes (*mauza*) is 1,331. Amongst these are distributed 1,800 estates (*mahál*). But the partition or subdivision of the latter is ever increasing their total.

Castes and tribes.

Until more figures are available we must content ourselves, in several important matters, with the returns of the 1872 census. First of such matters is the subject of Hindu castes and Musalmán tribes. Distributing the Hindús into four conventional classes, the enumeration of 1872 showed 154,520 Bráhmans (71,081 females), 111,066 Rájputs (47,258 females), 63,732 Baniyas (29,213 females), and 656,165 persons (304,462 females) belonging to the "other castes."

[1] *Supra* p. 409.

Bráhmans.

First in numbers as well as rank, the Bráhmans formed 15 per cent. of the total population. A great majority of this caste were returned as Kanaujiyas, while comparatively few appeared as Sanádhs, Súrasvats, and Gaurs. All these subdivisions have received sufficient notice elsewhere.[1] But there is reason to believe, writes Mr. Evans, that the strength of the Kanaujiyas has been unduly exaggerated, and that a much larger number of Bráhmans should have been shown as Sanádhs.[2] The latter are relatively most numerous in Panáhat, where they own extensive proprietary rights. They are also common along the common border of Fatehabad and Khairágarh, in which tract they include the clan named Golápúrab. The origin of the Golápúrabs is undoubtedly Bráhmanical. But they are often, by carpenters themselves, included in the carpenter (Barhoi) caste. And they sometimes, when large landholders, receive the title of Thákur, which, though elsewhere applied to Bráhmans, is in the North-Western Provinces generally restricted to Rájputs.

Rájputs.

Large numbers of Rájputs inhabit Khairágarh, Panáhat, the west of Fatehabad and the north of Kiráoli. But in the bulk of the last tahsíl and in tahsíl Agra their place is taken by Játs. The Khairágarh Rájputs are, for the most part, Ponwárs or Sikarwárs, the former dwelling south-west and the latter north-east of the Utangan river; but in the same tahsíl are found also a few Chauháns and Tomars. In Panáhat the Tomars become one of the principal races, massing strongly along the Dholpur frontier; while in the north-east and east of that tahsíl the Parihárs and Bhadauriyas are respectively most numerous. In the west of Fátehabad occur Kachhwáhas, Indolhyas, Sikarwárs, and Dhákaras; in the north of Kiráoli, Sikarwárs, Chauháns, and Jádons.

The Ponwárs have been described in the Farukhabad, the Chauháns in the Mainpuri and Bijnor notices. The Mainpuri memoir has given also some account of the Dhákaras; while the Parihárs and Kachhwáhas have received sufficient mention in connection with Etáwa Of the Jadons something has been said in the notice on Aligarh, and more will be said in that on Muttra. Remain to be mentioned here the Tomars, Bhadauriyas, Sikarwárs, and Indolhyas.

Tomars.

The Tomars or Tonwars[3] appear on Tod's list of the 36 royal races of Rájputána, but in these provinces are sparsely represented. Clans who like the Janghára claim a Tomar

[1] *Supra*, pp. 63-65. [2] Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary* (Beames's edition), I., 94-95.
[3] The latter is a common local form of the name; and another form is Tuar. In Gorakhpur the tribe is sometimes called Tongár.

origin are not uncommon. But Agra is the only district where persons bearing the old tribal name can be counted by thousands; and even in Agra the thousands are less than ten.[1]

Authentic history first mentions the tribe in A.D. 736, when Bilandeo Tomar, otherwise Anangpál the First, rebuilt Dehli and established there his capital. He was succeeded by eighteen descendants, whose reigns lasted until 1153. In that year his dynasty was overthrown by Bísaldeo Chauhán of Ajmer; but the defeated Tomar king, Anangpál II., seems to have been retained in power as vicegerent of the conqueror, who proceeded to subdue the rest of Northern India. Anangpál's daughter, moreover, married that conqueror's son or grandson, Somesar. And from this union sprang the chivalrous epic hero Prithiviráj, who sat on the throne of Dehli until ousted and slain (1193) by the Musalmán invader Shiháb-ud-dín.

The Tomars make no further mark in chronicle till the reign of Alá-ud-dín Khilji (1295-1316), or shortly after that monarch's death. It was then that the obscure Tomar Bír Singh Deo became possessed of Gwáliár, which before had been successively held by the Kachhwáhas, the Parihárs and the Muhammadans. After him ruled a long line of illustrious princes, all more or less subject to Musalmán influence. Among them, Dungar Singh (1425-54) is noteworthy, inasmuch as in his reign the celebrated rock-sculptures of Gwáliár were executed. These princes seem to have been sometimes the opposers, sometimes the faithful allies of the Dehli emperors. The sovereigns of the Lodi dynasty (1450-1526), Bahlol, Sikandar, and Ibráhím, defeated them or by them were defeated several times. The strong rock-citadel of Gwáliár often enabled the Tomars to defy the imperial forces.

The strongest and most able chief of the tribe was perhaps Rája Mán Singh, who acceded in 1486.[2] During his reign the power of the Tomars reached its zenith. He was a wise and benevolent ruler, a patron of the arts, and himself a skilful musician. Under his successor, Bikramájít, the fortress of Gwáliár succumbed to the Musalmáns under Ázam Humáyún; and the Rája was sent prisoner to Agra, where, though treated with honour, he sank into an ordinary feoffee (1518). Bikramájít fell fighting beside his suzerain, Ibráhím Lodi, at the battle of Pánipat (1526).[3] His troops held the fort of Agra, but yielded to Bábar. To their conqueror they presented some precious jewels, including a

[1] The round number, according to the census of 1872, is 9,500. [2] In Mr. Beames's note on the Tomars (Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, I., 163) Mán Singh is by a slip of the pen made to reign until 1576. The means of correcting this figure are however wanting. The Gwalíár Resident, or rather his Bengali head-clerk, writes that it is "difficult to furnish information of so far back." [3] Here again Mr. Beames's note (1576) is at fault.

famous diamond which is supposed to have been the same as that Koh-i-núr now owned by the Empress of India. Thereafter the Tomar chiefs sank into insignificance, and at length migrated into Udaipur, where their descendants are still living.

Though once so puissant and illustrious, the Tomars now possess no independent principality Vikram the Invincible, who established the *Sambat* era,[1] is believed on good grounds to have sprung from this race. "The chief possessions left to the Tuars," writes Tod, "are the district of Tuargarh, on the right bank of the Chambal towards its junction with the Jumna; and the small chieftainship of Patan-Tuarvati in the Jaipur State, and whose (*sic*) head claims affinity with the ancient kings of Indraprastha (Dehli)."[2] According to Mr Sherring the Tomars have seventeen branches or *gotras*.

Bhadauriyas.

The Bhadauriyas derive their name from Bhadaura in Atter of Gwáliár. They have in turn given their name to Bhadáwar, a tract including Atter and other parganas which, like Atter, adjoin this district on the south. Their race is divided into six clans called respectively Athbhaiyá, Kulhaiyá, Mainu, Tasseli, Chandarseniá, and Ráút. The principal family are Ráúts, the Mainus and Tasselis are said to be degraded by the presence in their veins of a little Mewáti blood. These Bhadauriyas are really an offshoot of the Chauhán stock. But, since Chauháns and Bhadauriyas began to find intermarriage convenient,[3] there has been some disposition to deny the relationship. Members of the same Rájput tribe are within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity.

That the Bhadaurias can lay claim to no great antiquity is perhaps proved by the fact that they are unmentioned in Chand's list of the tribes who took part in the Chauhán attack on Kanauj, and unmentioned in the earlier Muslim chronicles. But many an untrustworthy legend strives to show how early they settled in this part of the country. A passage in Tod's *Rájasthán* leads us to infer that they were established along the Chambal by Maniká Rái Chauhán, prince of Ajmer, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century. About the middle of the thirteenth (1246), the great Chauhán house of Chandwár in tahsíl Firozabad was all but exterminated by some foe unspecified. The sole survivor of the massacre was, as usual, a pregnant princess, the wife of Rája Ráút Sál. Flying across the Jumna she gave birth, in a village of tahsíl Fatehabad, to a boy named Rajju. At the age of 12 this

[1] *Supra*, p. 127 [2] *Rájasthán*, vol. I., pp. 88-89 For a detailed account of the Tomar dynasty of Dehli the reader is referred to General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, I., 141-56. [3] The present head of the Bhadauriyas married a sister of the Chauhán rája of Mainpurí; and this was not the first of such alliances

Rajju Ráút appears before the emperor Násir-ud-dín (1246-66) and obtains leave to eject the rebellious Meos from what is now tahsíl Panáhat. Slaying the marauding chiefs Kanhaiya and Hatiya, he about 1258 establishes his rule at Hatkánt; and is shortly afterwards rewarded, by a grateful sovereign, with the grant of the Bhadáwar principality. Rajju stands 239th in a pedigree beginning with the patriarch Mahá Agur and ending with the present Rája of Bhadáwar, the 261st or 263rd [1]

Another tradition allows the Chauháns of Chandwár and Rápri[2] to survive until Tamerlane's invasion (1398). The Chauhán chief Kamaldeo is said to have opposed that too successful barbarian, while Achaldeo or Harchaldeo the Bhadauria assisted him. The result was the discomfiture of the Chauháns and the bestowal of their domain on the Bhadaurias. The only comment which this story really requires is that neither Tamerlane nor his butchering detachments ever penetrated so far down-country as this district.[3] But Sir Henry Elliot thinks fit to crush the fly with a sledge-hammer. "It is evident," he writes, "from the accounts in the *Zafar-náma*, *Habíb-us-sair*, *Rauzat-us-safa*, and *Matla'-us-S'adain*, which all treat in great detail of Timúr's invasion, that no Hindu chief united himself with that conqueror; and even if he had, the tyrant, during his rapid course in Upper India, could have bestowed no fief that was worth acceptance; and much less would his bigotry have suffered him to bestow it on an infidel. Moreover, what serves entirely to disprove this alleged gift is that it is expressly stated in the *Tawárikh-i-Mubárak-Shahi* that Timúr had scarcely turned his back on India when Sayyid Khizr Khán sent his vizír to levy the revenue of Chandwár, 'which had been due for *some years*;' and recovered Jalesar out of the hands of the Rájpúts of Chandwár.' So that the Chandwár family, instead of losing, must have increased their possessions during the troubles succeeding Timúr's invasion."

In the reign of Akbar (1556-1605), again, Rajju Ráút and his Meo victims are revivified. The Meo chief, now named Heta or Haitu, appears as the seditious lord of Panáhat, Atter, and other territory. Rajju subdues him, receiving in reward 1,462 villages of that territory, the title of Mahendra, and a command of 7,000. That Hatkánt of Panáhat was a den of freebooters is an historical fact. Sikandar Lodi in 1509 scours it of robbers and rebels.[4] Sher

[1] Mr. Benson's notes. We shall see shortly that the legend of Rajju and the Meos often chooses as its date the later reign of Akbar. [2] Rápri, formerly the capital of a pargana, is a village of Mainpuri. It stands on the left bank of the Jumna, just opposite Batesar of the district. [3] Apocryphal traditions of alliance with Tamerlane are not the peculiar inheritance of the Bhadáwar rájas. A similar tale was told by the Dhuriápár family, now represented by the Rája of Gopálpur in Gorakhpur. See Gazetteer, VI., 488. [4] *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahán Lodi*, Elliot's *Historians* (Dowson's edition), V., 102; and *Makhzani Afghani* quoted in Elliot's *Glossary*, I., 26-27.

Sháh (1540-45) dragonnades it, quartering in the neighbourhood 12,000 horse.[1] But from passages of the *Akbarnáma* and the *Jahángírnáma*, quoted by Sir Henry Elliot, it is clear that the contumacious residents were not Meos, but the Bhadaurias themselves. Akbar's foster-brother, Adham Khán, is sent to Hatkánt to chastise Bhadauria *rebels* (1559); and having chastised them, is granted at least a part of their lands. The Bhadauria chief was, according to Mr. Blochmann,[2] trampled to death by elephants. These extracts are important as showing that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the Bhadaurias had already colonized Panáhat. But they show also that, so far from aiding the imperial Government in the punishment of other culprits, these Bhadaurias were themselves the culprits punished.

The title or rather name of Mahendra is still borne by the head of the tribe, the Rája of Bhadáwar. It is explained as meaning Lord of the Earth.[3] But it has perhaps been confused with some such word as Mahípál. Its primary signification is "Great Indra," a title sometimes applied to Indra, god of thunder.

That no Bhadauria received from Akbar a command of 7,000 is quite certain. The *Ain-i-Akbari* clearly states that commands of over 5,000 were never granted to any but the emperor's own sons. The higher and more extravagant appointments, which we read of in later reigns, were unknown during Akbar's rule. They were the idea of his son Jahángír (1605-28), who introduced them by bestowing a command of 30,000 on his empress Núrjahán. Sir Henry Elliot is however mistaken in doubting "whether a member of the Bhadauria family ever attained in Akbar's time the dignity even of 500." Mukatman, the son of the chief who was trampled to death, became a loyal subject of the crown and does appear, as a rája and a commander of 500, on the roll of Akbar's peers. This Mukatman may be regarded as the real founder of Bhadauria greatness. He afterwards rose to a command of 1,000, and is mentioned by the *Akbarnáma* as serving in Gujarát (1584).[4]

Under Jahángír, *pace* Sir Henry Elliot, the Bhadauria chiefs seem to have maintained their high position. Rája Bikramájít is mentioned as fighting in the emperor's wars, as dying in the 11th year of the reign, and as being succeeded by his son Bhoj.[5] Sayyid Ahmad's edition of Jahángír's *Memoirs* introduces us to Mangat, a Bhadauria chief who during the seventh year served in Bangash of Afghánistán; but the exact name of this officer is doubtful. The respectability of its principal family did not of course extend to all

[1] *Tarikh-i-Sher Sháhi*, Dowson's Elliot, IV, 416. [2] *Ain-i-Akbari*, I., 488. [3] Document quoted in the official *Rájas and Nawábs of the North-Western Provinces*, p 14. [4] Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 488. [5] *Ibid*, 489.

members of the tribe. The *Memoirs* describe Bhadauria robbers as infesting the roads about Agra. Getting these offenders into his power, the emperor has them trampled to death by elephants.[1]

In the reign of Jahángír's successor Sháhjahán (1628-58), the head of the Bhadaurias is Rája Kishn Singh. He too is a noted military leader, who distinguishes himself in at least four campaigns. The *Padsháh-náma* records him as a commander of 1,000. Dying in 1643, he was succeeded by his cousin Badan, Padam, Bad or Budh[2] From the fact that Badan Singh was created rája, we may infer that this title was not yet hereditary in the family. Beginning as a commander of 1,000, this Badan ended as a commander of 1,500. In the 21st year of the reign, on the occasion of a levée, a mad elephant caught up on his tusks one of the rája's attendants. Badan at once struck his dagger into the beast, which, frightened at the same time by a fire-wheel, dropped the unfortunate henchman. Sháhjahán rewarded the rája's bravery with a robe of honour, and with the remission of Rs. 50,000 out of the Rs. 2,00,000 which was the assessment of the Bhadáwar domain The Bhadauria courage, of which this act was a fair instance, has never indeed been questioned. Even in the chronicles above cited as describing their punishment by Adham Khán, these Rájpúts are acknowledged as "renowned for valour," "famed for bravery above all other landholders." Badan Singh is said to have raised the embankment by which the sacred town of Batesar was saved from the floods of the Jumna, and the course of that river turned westwards. Being built of stone and covered with temples from which flights of stairs descend into the water, this embankment is not without some claim to the picturesque. Its founder died in 1655 at Kandahár, while campaigning in Prince Dárá Shikoh's army.[3]

On his death his son Mahá Singh was made rája, receiving a command of 1,000. Mahá too served in Afghánistán under Dárá Shikoh. When, however, Dárá was defeated and put to death by Aurangzíb, the new rája entered the service of the conqueror. By Aurangzíb (1658-1707) he was employed against the Bundelas and the Yúsufzais. Dying in the 26th year of that monarch's reign he was succeeded by his son Udit or Odat, who some time before had been appointed commandant of Chittaur castle.[4] It was during Udit's time, apparently, that the title of rája was first recognized as hereditary in his family.

[1] Elliot's *Glossary*, I., 29, where part of the original Persian passage is given. [2] The two last are the names under which this chief appears in the *Ma'ásir-i-' Alamgíri*. [3] Blochmann, I., 489. In a note to Sir H. Elliot's article on the Bhadaurias, Mr. Beames informs us that Kishn Singh is entered on the roll of nobles as *Jauhar*, or the *Jewel*. [4] *Ibid.*

Tradition records that "before the decline of the empire"—that is, probably, before the death of Aurangzíb—the rájas of Bhadáwar, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Bundi were called the four pillars of the State (*arkán-i-daulat*).[1] The statement has not a very trustworthy sound, but there is no doubt that, as the power of the empire waned, the importance of the Bhadaurias waxed. In a charter of which a copy is extant Ázam, the son of Aurangzíb, appoints Gopál, the grandson of Udit, military governor (*faujdár*) of Bárí in Dholpur and Mirwár in Gwáliár, while confirming him in possession of Bhadáwar. Gopal's command is at the same time raised from 400 to 800. As Ázam's usurpation of the throne lasted for less than a year, these promotions were not perhaps of much value. But from Muhammad Sháh (1719-48) rája Gopál obtained more solid advantages. He had very large eyes, and when he went to pay his respects to the emperor the latter jocularly asked how he got them. Gopál replied that his country grew nothing but *arhar* pulse, and that from constantly straining at swallowing the hard bread (*bhatula, gánkar*) made therefrom, his eyes had nearly started out of his head. Muhammad took the hint and laughingly enriched him with other fiefs which were capable of producing the finer grains. Absurd as the story seems, it is commonly believed in Bhadáwar, and is not denied by the Bhadaurias themselves.[2] The interesting correspondence of Naunidh Rái shows us that, at the court of Muhammad Sháh, Gopál Singh's personal virtues were held in high consideration.

On Gopál's son, Marud or Anirudh, the same monarch bestowed the lands of Khatauli and Lohára. Marud was also appointed a commander of 6,000 and military governor of either Kanauj or Laháwar, or both;[3] but for these high dignities the grantee paid a million and a half of rupees. The *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* says that Saádat, first nawáb of Oudh, held Marud in such regard as to call him "son." But it is clear from contemporary chronicles that the consequence of the Bhadaurias began to decline before the close of Muhammad Sháh's reign. We find Marud's castle invested by the Marhattas; his country plundered and afterwards subjected to the payment of heavy indemnities. To avoid the victorious Játs who had crushed the Bhadaurias and annexed their principality, one of his adopted cousins and successors, Rája Bakht Singh, fled into exile. And when this Bakht was at length restored, he was restored to but little of his former possessions. For, to quote the words of the accurate

[1] *Rájas and Nawábs*, 16. [2] Elliot's *Glossary*, art *Bhatula*. [3] The *Rájas and Nawábs* says Kanauj, Sir Henry Elliot says Laháwar. This Laháwar is a place in Gwáliár, not far south of the Sindh river. It must not be confused with Láhor, whose ancient spelling of Luháwar had dropped into disuse more than 200 years before. See Blochmann, I., 324, note 1.

Murtaza Khán, written about 1790, weakness had fallen on the Bhadauria. "Much of his territory has been retained by the neighbouring rájas, and he is forced to rest content with a small principality."

The vicissitudes of Rája Bakht Singh demand more detailed notice. Expelling him from Panáhat in 1765, the Játs bestowed his domains on Jawáhir and Ratan, the son and brother respectively of their chief, Súraj Mal. But in 1770, after the murder of these interlopers, the Bhadauria returned home.[1] In expelling the Játs from Agra (1776) the imperial general Najaf Khán seems to have left Bakht Singh undisturbed. The country across the Utangan and the Chambal was perhaps thought too poor to attack, too difficult to conquer, or, lying as it did between the territories of Oudh and the Marhattas, too hard to hold when conquered. Nor can any of those grants, which Najaf so freely bestowed where his viceregal authority prevailed, be traced in the Bhadáwar neighbourhood.

With the Síndia of Gwáliár Bakht was at first on friendly terms. Several of that prince's charters confirm him in the possessions which his ancestors had received from the Dehli emperors. But Bakht and the rána of Gohad were fast friends, who had sworn amity by the exchange of turbans; while Síndia and the Rána of Gohad were mortal enemies. When Síndia demanded that Bakht should assist him against Gohad, Bakht held back. In his wrath, and in 1784, Síndia confiscated the Bhadáwar domains. But in the following year the widow of Bakht's adoptive father implored the spoiler's mercy. Moved perhaps by her sex and her age, he restored to her those 30 villages of Panáhat which are still held by the family. For some twenty years these villages were the only lands left to the Bhadaurias.

But on the outbreak of the first Marhatta war (1803) the obligations to the house of Gwáliár were forgotten; and the rája of Bhadáwar prudently assisted the English against Síndia. When Lord Lake marched down-country from Dehli, and Síndia's officers evacuated tahsíl Panáhat, the rája supported British authority by placing garrisons in the towns of Panáhat and Báh. A few days after Lord Lake's capture of Agra, the Bhadauria was requested to prevent the Marhattas from recrossing the Chambal, and to occupy, if possible, parganas Bhind and Atter of Gwáliár. The Panáhat land-tax, which since the departure of the Marhattas he had apparently collected, he was to make over to the Company's tahsíldar. These injunctions were duly obeyed. When moreover, Colonel White proceeded to attack Gwáliár castle, the rája of

[1] *Rájas and Nawábs.* In a report of 1845 the Commissioner of Agra represents the principality as annexed by the Játs in 1768, and recovered by Bakht Singh in the following year.

Bhadáwar joined him with 200 horse and 700 foot. The commandant of that castle, Kunjman, was himself a Bhadauria; and it is said that his capitulation was due to the influence of the rája, his tribal chief.[1] As a reward for his services that chief now received the revenue-free grant of pargana Atter, the cradle of his race.

During the second Marhatta war, again (1804), after Colonel Monson's unsuccessful advance against Holkár, the Bhadáwar rája volunteered his aid, collecting and despatching to Agra supplies of grain. The evacuation of Muttra having exposed the borders of this district, Holkár's officers entered and proceded to levy taxes. A captain named Tántia Bisrám took possession, in Holkár's name, of Báh and Panáhat. The Etáwa Collector, in whose jurisdiction those towns then lay, called upon the rája to eject the intruder; and, after much loss of life on both sides, ejected the intruder was The rája had next to repel the inroad of a Marhatta freebooter named Mandhála. Having the farm of the Panáhat land-taxes, the former possessed official as well as family influence; and this influence was successfully exerted in keeping the country comparatively quiet. But with the next invasion he was unable to cope single-handed. In the beginning of 1805 twenty thousand troops, belonging to Holkár and the rája of Bhartpur, entered tahsíl Panáhat with a view of crossing the Jumna and ravaging the Dúáb. The Bhadauria managed, however, to keep the marauders at bay until, arriving from Agra, Colonel Bowie drove them back across the Chambal. Bowie afterwards speaks of the Bhadáwar rája as a most active and faithful partizan, and as meriting the warmest support of the British Government.

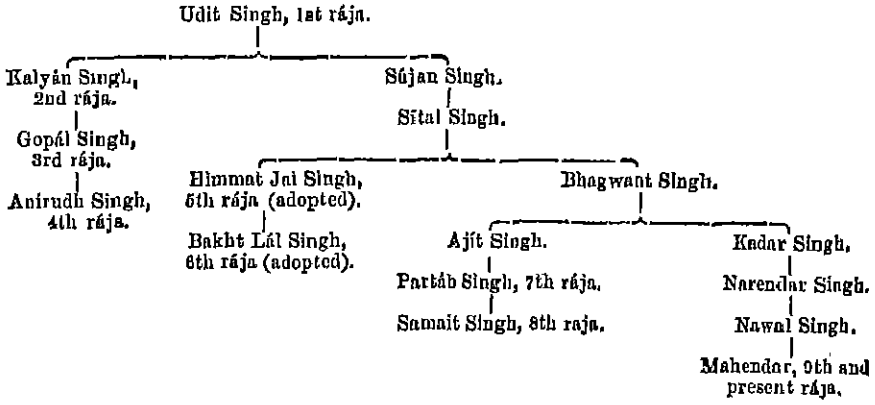
By the middle of the year (1805) Holkár had been crushed, but Síndia's attitude became threatening. Lord Lake deemed it advisable to keep his main force at Agra and Muttra. But on relieving Wellesley as Governor-General, Cornwallis introduced a conciliatory policy towards Gwáliár. In pursuance of that policy his successor Sir George Barlow restored to Síndia much of the territory conquered during the first Marhatta war. Having thus become suzerain of Atter, the Mahárája of Gwáliár in 1808 cancelled the British grant whereby the Bhadauria rája held that pargana revenue-free. In recognizing the right of the village communities to engage for the payment of their own revenue, the re-assessment of the same year deprived the Bhadauria of his tax-farm in tahsíl Panáhat. From that farm he would seem to have realized a yearly profit of Rs. 30,000.

[1] This is mentioned with a tone of belief in a political resolution of the North-Western Provinces Government, 27th August, 1840

In 1809 was disallowed the rája's claim to collect transit duties at Kachaura ferry on the Jumna. His right to some compensation was however acknowledged. It was decided that, in consideration of his services to the English and of his disappointment with regard to Atter, he should be treated with indulgence. The consolation allowance was fixed at Rs. 24,100 yearly; but the rája was informed that he must no longer expect the British Government to interfere in the matter of the land whereof he had been deprived by Síndia. The allowance continues to the present day.[1]

At the re-assessment of 1840 arose the question of taxing the 30 villages which the rája held revenue-free in tahsíl Panáhat, and "the propriety of not subjecting" them "to the ordinary process of the resumption courts" was officially declared. The annual profits of the holding were then reckoned at Rs. 50,000 yearly, but have been somewhat modified by settlement proceedings in 1853 and later years. The fiscal history of these villages will be told elsewhere, and we need only linger to mention that two of them now lie in Mainpuri. During the troubles of 1857-58 the Bhadauria chief behaved with conspicuous loyalty. While neighbouring tahsíls were overrun by rebels and deserted by our officials, Panáhat was staunchly held for Government. Insurgent attempts to cross the Jumna and the Chambal were frustrated by the rája's levies.

The following pedigree of the Bhadáwar family begins with Udit, the first hereditary rája:—



The rája's seat is at Naugawán on the Jumna, in Panáhat. The country between Panáhat and Kachaura is thickly studded with the remains

[1]The last few paragraphs, and much that precedes have been abbreviated from a report by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor's (Political) Agent for Agra. The date is 13th August, 1840.

of buildings founded by his ancestors. Amongst such monuments might be mentioned the embankment and temples of Batesar, the town-wall and castle of Panáhat, the Báradari or summer-house of Báh, and many masonry reservoirs. Though, as already shown, we find no authentic mention of the Bhadáwar rájas before the sixteenth century, their achievements and their marriages have since then been distinguished enough to endow them with great importance in the eyes of the Northern Indian nobility. The neighbouring chiefs allow the Bhádauria to sit higher than themselves;[1] they receive from him, on their investiture, the impress of the frontal mark (*tilak*). They say that he alone can cover Shiva's phallus at Batesar with grain; that he succeeded in covering it with seven maunds weight when the rána of Gohad failed with twenty-one.

In this description of the Bhadaurias too much has perhaps been said of their principal family and too little of the tribe at large. But Indian history has not yet reached the stage when the condition and vicissitudes of the people are considered side by side with those of their princes. The princes alone have been sufficiently prominent to attract the superficial notice of the chronicler, and of the princes alone, therefore, has anything been recorded. But the clansmen of the rája, in Agra, Etáwa and Gwáliár, were by a report of 1840 reckoned at 25,000. In the whole of these provinces, and in 1872, there were about the same number. In Agra, the chief stronghold of the tribe is of course tahsíl Panáhat, of whose 241 estates 31 are held by Bhadauria landlords. When found in other tahsíls, such as Firozabad, Itimádpur, and Khairágarh, these Rájputs are found in small numbers only, and have made their immigration within the last half century.[2] It is to be feared that they are in most places somewhat addicted to the murder of their female babies. We may note that the title Bhadauria or Bhadori is applied also to a branch of the low Bráhmans called Dakauts.[3] These Bhadauria Bráhmans are encountered in the neighbouring district of Mainpuri and elsewhere.

Sikarwárs.

The Sikarwárs or Sakárwáls are a branch of the Bargújars. Both tribes are by Colonel Tod included amongst the 36 royal races, but in some of his lists neither appears. The Bargújars being descended from Lava, the son of Ráma, the Sikarwárs of course claim Ajudhya as their original home. On leaving Ajudhya they would seem,

[1] They are allowed precedence by the Chauhán rájas of Mainpuri and Partábner. See Mr. Hume's note of the castes of Etáwa, *Census Report*, of 1865. [2] Mr. Sells's note on the castes of Agra, *Census Report* of 1865. [3] See Gazetteer, V., 286, 583. To the derivations of the name Dakaut which are given on the latter page may be added that of Elliot. He says that these Bráhmans are called Dakaut because they bawl aloud for alms in the streets (*Dakna*, to bawl).

according to their Agra traditions, to have made the tour of Northern India. From Ajudhya they migrated to Láhor, by which perhaps is meant Lahárwar in Gwáliár; from Láhor to Rajor in Jaipur; from Rajor to Rúpbás in Bhartpur; and from Rúpbás to (Fatehpur) Síkri in this district. It is from Síkri, according to Tod, that the tribe derives its name of Sikarwár. According to another account that name is taken from Sikarwári on the right bank of the Chambal, in Gwáliár[1] It is probable, however, that Sikarwári was called after the tribe, and not the tribe after Sikarwári.

The migration from Gwáliár territory is said to have taken place at various times between 400 and 600 years ago. But another legend, which perhaps prefers antiquity to truth, represents Chandráj, the first settler at Síkri, as reaching that place in 815 A. D. (872 *sambat*). In 1088, one Bijí Singh left Síkri and expelled the Baniya landholders from Sarendha in Khanágarh And by 1196 the tribe is alleged to have spread over the whole of the latter tahsíl[2]

In the south-eastern districts there is often some doubt whether the Sikarwárs are of Rájput or of Bráhman origin. Though affirming that their ancestors came from Síkri, the Gházipur members of the tribe claim descent from Bráhmans. There is, however, no reason why both a Bráhman and a Rájput tribe should not have derived their names from Síkri. We have Gaur Bráhmans and Gaur Rájputs, both probably taking their title from the same place (Gauda or Gonda in Oudh).

If not the only district, Agra is one of the few districts in which the Indoliyas are represented. Their appellation and their traditions both show that they came from Indor in Holkár's dominions. They are believed to be a degenerate offshoot of the Tomars. But nothing more is known about them.

Indoliyas.

In Panáhat and other tahsíls exists a curious class who, without any apparent pretension to that title, are always called Rájputs. Rájput is in this case the style of a single tribe, and not of a great collection of tribes. The fact seems to have puzzled Mr. Beames, who, in commenting on the Agra census of 1865, remarks: "It gives also a curious item, 'Rájputs 11,205,' as though the others (Sikarwárs, Chauháns *et al.*) were not Rájputs. This comes of the fourfold division." But these Rájputs are in truth as distinct a caste as the Ahírs or the Játs. With true Rájputs they have no intermarriage or any other form of social communion. While true Rájputs are in this part of the country always called Thákur or *lord*, that title is never bestowed on the Rájputs who

[1] Mr. Sells's note. [2] Mr. Benson's notes.

are Rájputs in name only. The latter, who have many sub-divisions, are abundant in Dholpur also.

Baniyás

The third great class of Hindús, the Baniyás, formed 5 per cent of the total population, and were evenly distributed all over the district. The census almost always described them as belonging to the Agarwála tribe, which has been amply described elsewhere.[1] Of the other castes the most numerous were the Chamárs, over 175,000 strong; the Játs, over 70,000; the Káchhis, over 50,000; the Kolis and Gadarias, over 35,000 each; the Ahírs, over 30,000; the Lodhas, over 25,000; the Malláhs, Hajjáms and Baháis, over 20,000 each; the Kumhárs and Kaháirs, over 15,000; the Gújars, Khákrobs, Dhobis and Káyaths, over 10,000; and the Telis, Sunárs, Khatíks and Darzis, over 5,000. The Chamárs or curriers, who formed 17 per cent. of the total population, are most thickly settled in tahsíls Agra, Itimádpur and Kiráoli. The chief home of the Játs is that part of the district comprised in the Agra and Kiráoli tahsíls, where they were once the principal landed proprietors. Rare north of the Jumna, they are in the eastern tahsíls[2] almost altogether wanting. Like the Gújars, the Játs are fond of calling themselves Thákur; but, unlike Gújars, they sometimes assume the less usual title of *Faujdár*. Both Játs and Ahírs are sometimes suspected of murdering their female infants.

and "other castes."

Gadariyas.

But all tribes mentioned by the last paragraph—Gadariyas, Kumhárs and Dhobis excepted—have received sufficient notice in the fourth, fifth or sixth volume of this series. The Gadariyas are a pastoral caste who, while deriving their name from Hindí *gádar*, a sheep, devote their attention to goats also. Their clans or sub-divisions are manifold. But, like all low Hindú tribes, they prefer to limit their septs to the magic number of seven. The seven names given often differ in different parts of the same district; but, as detailed to Sir Henry Elliot, were Nikhar, Tasselha or Pachháde, Chak, Dhengár, Bareiya, Paihwar and Bhaiyátar. Of these the Benares enumeration excludes all save the Nikhars and Dhengárs, the five remaining places being filled by subdivisions called Jaunpuri, Ilahábádi, Bakar-ká-Sáho, Namdáwale and Chikwa, the last a Musalmán race. The various clans hold as much aloof as if they were separate castes. The most liberal relaxation of this social bondage is perhaps that some of them, the Nikhars and Dhengárs for instance, will smoke each other's pipes (*hukka*). As to the

[1] See Gazetteer, II., 182, 395; III., 259, 497, IV., 280; and V., 45. [2] Firozabad, Fatehabad, and Panáhat.

origin of the tribe accounts differ. Some represent the Gadariyas as the descendants of an outcast Kurmi and his paramour. Estranged from their kinsmen the tillers of the soil, they took refuge in the wilderness, where they gained their livlihood by grazing herds. According to another story, they are the offspring of a mercantile (Vaisya) father and a scribe-begotten (Karan) mother. A third theory classes them as Gújars, and a fourth as Ahírs. With Gújars, Ahírs, and many other low castes the Gadariyas have this in common, that amongst them a younger son may marry his elder brother's widow.[1] The senior brother is as usual prohibited from wedding the widow of the junior.

The quiet manner in which the Gadariya tends his flocks would probably surprise the British shepherd. No dog is used. The sheep and goats are not as a rule driven, but follow their guardian from field to field. The following calculations show that the profits of his trade are not inconsiderable :—

"One Gadariya," writes Mr. Hoey,[2] "will attend a flock of 100 sheep and goats, and is at no expense for fodder. He drives them out to graze on wild pasture. Goats and sheep drop young twice a year ; and as many as four kids or lambs at a birth are not unusual. In a flock of 100 sheep and goats let there be 60 sheep. It is the custom to cut the wool three times in the year—after the cold weather, the hot weather, and the rains. The idiom for shearing is *pairi karná* The average is a quarter of a *ser*[3] of wool at each *pairi*. Thus 60 sheep will yield 1 maund 5 sers[4] of wool a year. If the wool is sold, it will fetch about one rupee per 3 sers. But Gadariyas frequently weave their wool into small blankets (*kamli*) of 1¼ sers weight, which sell for one rupee each. In this case they are at a cost of half an anna per kamli, paid to a *behna* (cotton-cleaner) for carding the wool. Thus from 60 sheep the Gadariya may have either 45 *sers* of wool, value Rs. 15 ; or 30 kamlis, value Rs. 30. In the last case he pays the behna Re. 1-6-6 and clears Rs. 28-9-6. This latter method of disposing of the wool is chosen by Gadariyas who have grown sons or daughters, or wives without children, who weave.

"The lowest estimate which any Gadariya has given me of the lambs dropped by 60 sheep in one year is 90. These sell as lambkins for 8 annas each, as one-year-olds from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8, and as two-year-olds for Rs. 2. This is an average computation. Gadariyas milk ewes, but draw never more than ¼ ser per diem, for they have regard to the value of the lambs. Sheep's milk is sold to *halwáis* (confectioners) at 1 anna per ser, to make *khoa*.[5] Of 60 sheep 12 will always be in milk ; and by milk, therefore, is realised 3 annas daily. Sheep's manure is sold to *dhobis* (washermen) for washing, and Muráos (market-gardeners) purchase it as a high class compost for *dofasli* fields[6]. It sells at Re. 1 per 5 maunds. The pen where 60 sheep are kept at night will when swept in the morning give 10 sers.

"Now take the 40 goats in the mixed flock of 100 sheep and goats Their yield of kids is set down at 90 in the year and their milk at 12 sers per diem. Goat's milk fetches 1 anna per ser. Kids are sold in the first year at from annas 12 to Re. 1 each ; in the second year at from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 (if females) and at Rs. 4 (if males). Goats when in milk are given *bhúsa* (chopped millet-stalks) ; but 4 annas daily, at most, is spent on 40.

[1] See Gazetteer, V. [2] *Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India.* [3] i.e., about half a pound [4] About 92 lb. [5] Milk thickened or curdled by boiling. [6] i.e. fields cropped twice yearly.

"Thus a flock of sheep and goats, in the proportion taken above, is worth Rs. 405 per annum at the lowest computation—the sheep Rs. 157½ and the goats 217½—after paying all expenses."

Kumhárs.

The Kumhár derives his name from Sanskrit *kumbhakára*, a potter; and pottery is still his trade. In the Dharma Purána he is represented as the offspring of a Bráhman father and a Kshatriya mother.[1] Here, however, his origin is ascribed to an intrigue between a Bráhman's Kahárin mistress and a man who like herself was a Súdra. It has been elsewhere[2] shown that in the south-eastern districts the Kumhárs divide themselves as usual into seven clans. But in Agra the caste seems to recognize three septs only—the Mathuriya, Gola, and Parodia. The first works by hand, the second with a potter's wheel, and the third manufactures toys. Pottery is sometimes produced by mould, but in the classification just given that fact seems to have been disregarded. The Kumhars make also bricks and tiles

Dhobís.

As the poorest classes think themselves too rich to clean their own clothes, the purification of dirty linen is entrusted to a special caste which derives its name from Hindi *dhoná*, to wash. Owing to the uncleanliness with which he comes into contact, the Dhobi is considered one of the lowest of all Hindús. The seven clans into which his caste is most commonly divided are the Kanaujiya, Magahya, Pagahya, Bolwar, Bátham, Srí Bátham and Bharká. But the distinction between Bátham and Srí Bátham is doubtful,[3] and was perhaps made merely in order to obtain the requisite seventh name. In the Benares list occur eleven sub-divisions, including all those just mentioned, except the Srí Bátham and the Bharka; and including also others called Márwári, Shaikh, Pachpiriya, Káliká-deví, Paliár and Ammí. The Shaikhs are, as their name shows, Musalmáns. Amongst them may probably be found a good many descendants of Bharkas; for about three-fourths of the latter clan have been converted to Islám. In Bihár are encountered other classes called Ajodhyas and Gosars. The various sub-divisions refuse to eat together or intermarry, and are practically as distinct as separate castes.

Musalmans.

In its classification of Musalmáns the 1872 census everywhere adopted the same fourfold division. For Agra the details of that classification were: Shaikhs, 73,169; Pathans, 22,851; Sayyids, 6,233; and Mughals, 2,127. Of these tribes enough has been said

[1] Colebrooke's Essays, p. 272. [2] Gazetteer, VI., 635 (Basti). Mr. Sells's note on the castes of Agra, Census Report of 1865, by the Rev. M. A. Sherring. [3] It is upheld by Sir H. Elliot and contested

in many notices, and especially in the notices on Bijnor and Basti.[1] But besides the members of these tribes were entered several thousand persons whose race was unspecified. And amongst the unspecified were probably included many of the curious class nicknamed Malkánas, who bear some resemblance to the Nau-Muslims of other districts.

Malkánas.

The Malkánas are the descendants of converted Hindús and are found all over the district. Their ancestors belonged, as a rule, to the superior landholding castes. Thus in Kiráoli they trace their lineage to a Ját, in Itimádpur to a Chauhán or Ponwár, in Firozabad to a Chauhan, in Fatehabad to a Parihár, and in Khairágarh to a Sikarwár, a Ponwár, or a Baniyá stock. The title of Malkána they scarcely recognize They describe themselves as Musalmáns; but, if further pressed as to their tribe, generally give their original caste designation To Musalmán habits they are but little inclined. They sometimes indeed keep up mosques, they bury their dead, and they wear clothes of Musalmán cut. With Musalmán friends of other classes they at times condescend to eat. But, on the other hand, they think the same mat too small a seat to hold themselves and any Musalmáns with whom no friendship exists. Their names are Hindu; they worship at Hindú temples; and they use the Hindu salutation *Rám, Rám.* In former days Rájputs would sometimes eat cakes (*puríyán*) given them by Malkánas,[2] but of late years the practice has become obsolete. Malkánas intermarry with their own class only.

Occupations.

Caste and occupation are kindred subjects. Following the example of British population statements, the census distributes the inhabitants amongst six great classes—(1) the professional, (2) the domestic, (3) the commercial, (4) the agricultural, (5) the industrial, and (6) the indefinite.

The first or professional class, consisting of 4,743 male adults,[3] included all Government servants, members of the learned professions, and followers of of literary, artistic, or scientific pursuits. Such are family priests (*purohit*), doctors (*pandit*) of Hindu divinity and law, doctors (*hakim*) of medicine, musicians, and so forth. The second or domestic class (46,009 men) comprised amongst others all persons employed as private servants, washermen, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers and innkeepers. The third or commercial numbered 17,609 male adults, amongst whom were all bankers, money-lenders, tradesmen and carriers. In the fourth or agricultural class were included

[1] See Gazetteer, V., 294-95; and VI., 638-39. [2] Being cooked with clarified butter, such cakes are "purified food" and may generally be eaten even when presented by a member of a different caste. See p. 61. [3] *i.e.*, males over 15 years of age.

535,249 men who derived their living from the possession or cultivation of the land The fifth or industrial contained 65,566 artisans, such as dyers, masons, carpenters, perfumers, weavers, tailors, cotton-cleaners, grain-parchers *and confectioners* As *members* of the sixth or indefinite class (54,673 males) were returned all labourers, men (other than landholders) of independent means, and persons who, like beggars, were supported by the community and had no specified occupation.

Labourers and immigration.

Of the labourers, who numbered 46,616 males, some little more may be said. As in Farukhabad, they are chiefly hired from day to day for work in the fields. Within the last ten years from November, 1875, to the end of last year (1880), 986 persons of this class (452 females) were registered for emigration beyond seas[1] The colonies to which they chiefly emigrated were Demarara and the French Settlements. Before November, 1875, no registration of emigrants took place.

Dwellings.

Turning from the people to their homes, the same census reported the district to contain 36,384 houses built "with skilled labour," that is of masonry. The remaining 194,886 dwellings were constructed "with unskilled labour," to wit, of mud. The finest masonry habitations, the palaces at Fatehpur-Sikri and in Agra Fort, are no longer inhabited. They will be described in the final portion of this notice, but we must here deal with humbler and less ancient residences. The style and cost of modern houses differ much according, not only to the circumstances of the occupants, but to the requirements and capabilities of the site. In the city of Agra the dwellings and shops are mostly of masonry. The better classes generally live in large brick mansions of two, three, or even four storeys. The usual plan is to group the rooms round the small central courtyard or quadrangle to which the entrance gateway leads. Into this quadrangle, from the upper storeys, look balconies. It is perhaps flanked on the basement storey by open pillared porticoes (*dálán*), and these again are backed by a few small closets (*kothri*). The main walls are built of brick and mortar; but in the cheaper class of houses the place of mortar is sometimes taken by clay unmixed with lime. The lintels and doorposts, the balconies with their bracket supports, the window frames and other superficial fittings, are made of hewn stone, which is often handsomely carved. Such houses are frequently occupied by several related families, and sometimes by different sets of lodgers. The loftiest mansions rise mostly in the heart of the city; but in the outskirts

[1] See Act VII. of 1871.

also are several large *havelis*[1] with spacious courtyards, porticoes, storehouses and stables attached. It is in these same suburbs, where the poorer classes usually dwell, that the common flat-roofed or thatched mud cottage is commonest.

Outside the city, in the country, mud is the almost universal material. But a good many houses of the type just described may be seen in towns like Firozabad and Báh; or in villages which, like Sháhdará, lie close to Agra. A masonry dwelling is often reared, in some place yet more rural, by the local landholder or graindealer. In the west and south-west of the district the vicinity of hills and quarries makes stone-built structures common. At Fatehpur-Síkri and Jagner, for instance, the absence of brick or mud walls is striking. Even the poorest thatched hovels are constructed of stone roughly piled up without mortar. In tahsíl Panáhat both houses and hovels are composed of soft block limestone (*kankar*) from the ravines of the Chambal. Good examples of such construction may be seen in the Puranpura quarter of Panáhat town. Though the rustic inhabits as a rule a home of mud, it must not be supposed that mud is the material of the poorer homes alone. With it is built every kind of house, from the castle of the Rájput landlord to the hut of the Chamár hide-curer. In this country it is often hard to define what is meant by a house. But "the group of dwellings collected within one common wall, and entered by a common gateway," is perhaps the best definition. A single and separate dwelling, with accommodation for one family only, is the exception and not the rule.

Speaking generally, we may say that a village, at any rate a village south-west of the Jumna, resembles in outward appearance a lofty mud-walled enclosure pierced by few openings. In like manner the houses themselves, when seen from outside, show nothing but a blank wall with one entrance doorway; and that doorway is often so contrived as not to lead straight into the court of the house, but to turn and conceal from outer view all that lies within. When owned by wealthy or by Rájput landlords, such houses are large enclosures with high substantial walls and strong gates. Outside the gateway stands the *chaupál*, a verandah-covered platform where visitors are received and business is transacted. Within lies the courtyard, surrounded by the separate *kothas* or flat-roofed dwellings of the several resident families and by thatched sheds which serve as kitchens, and sometimes as dormitories for men or stalls for cattle. On the housetops are often built thatched garrets. When enlarged

[1] The term *haveli* here means a dwelling-house. But it was often applied also to the lands whose revenues were set apart to support the garrison of some neighbouring fortress. Hence the frequency in these provinces of pargana names like Haveli Chunár.

surrounded by a ditch, and defended by stronger and higher walls, a building of this sort becomes a *garhi* or castle. A castle, however, has generally two courtyards The outer contains chaupáls, cattle-sheds and stables, while the inner is reserved for the women.

Castles.

The following list of the principal castles includes not only private dwellings, but several buildings used for official purposes. If the details are not always perfect, it is because good bricks cannot be made without straw:—

TAHSIL FATEHABAD.

(1) *Ajner.*—Here the landlord's seat is surrounded by a double wall and a dry ditch Outer dimensions 177 × 174 feet. Height of outer wall 14 feet.

(2) *Bahri Chandai.*—Now unoccupied: this too was formerly the residence of the local landlord. It stands on a commanding eminence amongst the Jumna ravines and overlooks the Shankarpur ferry.

(3) *Fatehabad tahsíli.*—This is a large enclosure 340 feet square, surrounded by a dry ditch. At the corners of its wall, which is built of masonry, are flanking towers On the inner side of the ditch rises an earthen rampart; and filled with earth are the chambers on the inner side of the wall. The stronghold occupies the centre of Fatehabad town

(4) *Jhikhampur.*—Here the outer wall is 70 × 54 feet square, and its height 8 feet.

(5) *Jawdhirpur.*—Ground dimensions of wall 64 × 56 feet, height of that wall, 8 feet

(6) *Kherá.*—Though constructed as usual of mud, this encloses a few masonry buildings. It has high walls and a narrow ditch, which, though deep in most places, has become shallow on the northern side. The gateway is in a re entering angle of the wall

(8) *Saranpur.*—Wall about 60 feet square

(9) *Sindauli.*—*Here the wall is about 180 × 120 feet in ground dimensions, and 8 feet in height.*

(10) *Soára.*—This occupies the heart of a village overlooking the Jumna, and commands the Soára ferry; ground dimensions about 150 feet square; height about 15 feet.

TAHSIL FIROZABAD

(11) *Basai.*—Now deserted: this crowns an eminence on the left bank of the Jumna; standing almost opposite Shankarpur ferry and Bahri Chandai castle.

(12) *Firozabad tahsíli.*—Situated in the midst of Firozabad town; girt with a mud wall and a ditch.

(13) *Gangai.*—A landholder's residence, fortified with the same defences as the last.

(14) *Jaido.*—This also is a mud structure defended by a ditch and wall. Depth of ditch from 14 to 16 feet. Height of wall 22 feet. Ground dimensions of the same, 240 feet (N.) × 216 (S.)—228 (E.) × 222 (W.)

(15) *Jaundri.*—An old mud castle perched on slightly rising ground. Is now somewhat out of repair.

(16) *Kálki.*—Dimensions small.

(17) *Kotila.*—This is the seat of a large proprietor, who keeps a few armed followers. It stands on a considerable elevation, commanding Kotila village and a good deal of the surrounding country. The approach is by a steep and narrow lane. Ditch, 20 feet broad by 14 deep. Height of wall, 10 feet. Ground dimensions of the same, 284 (N.) × 220 (S.) × 320 (E.) × 480 (W.)

(18) *Nárkhí.*—Occupies the centre of the village so called, but is now in ruins.

(19) *Pílúá.*—An ordinary mud castle of no very striking size.

(20) *Pílíín.*—This, on the other hand, is large. But it is at present ruinous.

(21) *Sargáon.*—Described as "a *zamíndár's* mud fort, not very large, but commanding a considerable expanse of country."

TAHSÍL PANÁHAT.

(22) *Batesar.*—A spacious enclosure raised high above the town and surrounded by a ruinous masonry wall. It must, in former days, have been a very respectable stronghold

(23) *Kachaura.*—An enclosure about 300 feet square, commanding the ferry which conveys the Etáwa road across the Jumna.

(24) *Panáhat tahsíl.*—Is surrounded by a mud wall. Panáhat itself is a walled town; and one of its ends, Puranpura, is through the steepness of the surrounding ravines somewhat inaccessible.

(25) *Panáhat castle.*—This, a former stronghold of the Bhadáwar Rájas, has, though still occupied, fallen into much disrepair. It is a fine lime-stone building; but on the north, towards the town, its wall is no longer an effective barrier. The castle is occupied by Bábu Gopál Singh, a kinsman of the rája.

(26) *Párna.*—Is a landholder's mud residence, perched on a high cliff overlooking the Jumna.

(27) *Nawgawán.*—The present seat of the Bhadáwar rája. Standing on a slight elevation, it consists of masonry buildings surrounded by a mud wall and a ditch The wall is about 375 feet square.

TAHSÍL KHAIRÁGARH.

(28) *Jagner.*—A ruined stone castle, built on a hill.

(29) *Irádatnagar tahsíl.*—Has since the abolition of the Irádatnagar tahsíl been sold to private owners. It is enclosed by a mud wall and a dry ditch.

(30) *Khairágarh tahsíl.*—Stands on a rock beside the river Utangan. Its walls are about 300 feet square, but it has no ditch.

TAHSÍL ITIMADPUR.

(31) *Járkhi.*—The seat of the local proprietor; is a group of masonry buildings defended by a mud wall and by a rather deep dry ditch.

(32) *Itimádpur tahsíl.*—This is a large enclosure surrounded by a lofty and very thick mud wall, with flanking towers at the corners. Outside all is the usual dry ditch, in this case a shallow excavation.

(33) *Pachokra.*—A mud castle in the centre of the village so named.

None of these buildings would present any serious obstacle to a force provided with artillery. The only stronghold of much military importance is the Agra Fort, occupied by a garrison battery and a company of British infantry.

An ordinary house—a house, that is, without pretensions to be considered either a large town mansion or a castle—includes within its walls three or four flat-roofed buildings. These are grouped round the internal yard. To each is attached a verandah or thatched shed, or perhaps a flat-roofed open portico. Each is the residence of a separate family. In size these *kothis* vary from 6 × 9 to 9 × 16 feet; but in some cases the limited space is eked out by the addition of inner closets (*kothri*).

Roofing.

Flat roofs are made by first overlaying the rafters with bundles or faggots of brushwood, *arhar* stalks or other twigs; and by next beating down over those bundles a layer of earth. Lastly is superadded a top coating of mud plaster In the case of the better masonry houses the plaster is mixed with lime or replaced by good concrete; while the layer of faggots and earth is discarded in favour of planks or stone slabs. The poor man's hut is roofed with a light thatch of dry grass, surmounting a framework of split bambus. The roof-tree, the rough beam that connects gable-point with gable-point, is often the only rafter used. The hut frequently lacks a door, but this deficiency is sometimes supplied by a moveable screen of grass. In mud buildings windows are, as a rule, unknown. Even in masonry houses they are usually confined to the upper storeys, where they take the form of small openings closed with wooden shutters or grated with stone. Except where wealthy natives have imitated European models, glass is never used. The chief characteristic of domestic architecture is the absence of woodwork, a want due to the general scarcity of timber. What, to borrow a term from military tailoring, may be called the facings of a masonry house—its door-posts, window frames and so on—are all of stone.

Windows.

The chief architectural ornaments of the district are, however, not its domestic, but its religious and sepulchral buildings. For long the headquarters of Asiatic Islám, it was enriched with the tomb of many a great Muslim who, according to the traditions of his faith, preferred a splendid home in death to a splendid home in life. The Táj at Agra is probably the fairest mausoleum of the world. It has certainly won rapturous praise from the enthusiastic, and almost disarmed the criticism of the captious. But it is not proposed here to anticipate descriptions which will find a more fitting place in the articles at the end of this notice. When the following remarks on sacred architecture mention individual buildings, it shall be by way of illustration only.

Religious buildings.

Musalmán.

Musalmán mausoleums and Musalmán mosques[1] are too much alike to be considered separately. In Vol. II. of Fergusson's *History of Architecture* the general style of such works is thus summarized: "Their great characteristic is the importance given to the mosque itself, and the subordination of all other parts to it. Generally the mosque is a vaulted hall surmounted by three domes of the bulbous form which they (the Tátar invaders) introduced into India.[2] In most cases the central dome is largest and the central portal more dignified than the rest." With this description the mosques of Agra city very generally correspond. They were mostly built later than the reign of Akbar, when the great mosque at Fatehpur-Síkrí was reared; and belong therefore to what Mr. Keene calls the Fifth Period of Hindústání Architecture. The eclecticism of Akbar had fused Musalmán outlines with Hindu details; and in this later period we reach the stage when the original boldness of contour and ornament was yielding to a luxuriant softness. Mughal architecture was in fact in much the same condition as French when passing from Pointed to Flamboyant. Of the new school the writer just quoted observes that it "trembles on the line that separates pretension from true dignity; and though its happiest efforts are unique in their charm, yet all its virtues lean to vice's side, and a fall is felt to be impending. Persian ideas predominate, though Hindu practice is not at first entirely eliminated from the details."[3] Examples of this style are to be found in the Cathedral and Pearl (*Jámi' and Motí*) mosques at Agra.

Specimens of an older style—approaching the stern severity of the Pathán school, before softened by contact with Hindu art—may be found in the Káli Masjid and the Dargáh Sháh Vilávat. The former has one principal and four inferior domes. In these more ancient buildings the dome had not yet attained the loftiness of later days, and is generally rather flat. In some of the more recent mosques, on the other hand, the domes become fewer or disappear altogether. The decline of Muslim power and degeneracy of Muslim art may perhaps have given opening for the more forcible expression, in architecture, of Hindu ideas; and the dome, though to some extent adopted by Hindús, was not a Hindu invention. The Akbari Masjid has but one, and that not a

[1] The Mausoleum has many names, such as *rauza* (a garden), *makbara* (a place of burial), *ziyárat* (a goal of pilgrimage) and *dargáh* (a gateway or court) [2] The Tátar dome, which resembles an inverted turnip, is a common adornment of Russian churches. The objection raised against it is that it in most cases corresponds with no existing internal feature. "There can be no doubt," writes Mr. Keene, "that a dome should be merely the outward expression of the cupola or peripherised arch within." It is sometimes replied, on the other hand, that the bulbous dome is the spheroidal expression of the horseshoe arch. And it should be remembered, in qualification of Mr. Keene's remark, that the requirements of exterior and of interior effect are somewhat different. More on this point will, perhaps, be said hereafter in discussing the dome of the Táj. [3] *Handbook to Agra.*

prominent dome. The Ídgáh has no dome at all. Its roof is flat; and its principal feature is the large arched entrance, flanked on either side by a smaller aperture of the same kind.

Hindu.

Compared with the Musalmán, the Hindu places of worship hold a markedly inferior position. None of these latter has much antiquity, much size, or much architectural merit. The ordinary Hindu temple is a small square building surmounted by a pyramidal spire or by that round dome which was borrowed from the conquering Muslim. Diagrams of buildings terminated in either way will be found in the Gorakhpur notice.[1] Both forms of termination may be seen at holy Batesar, where, however, the principal temples are dome-roofed. Though the temples themselves are most often insignificant, their attached buildings—the porticoes, priest-chambers, and rest-houses for pilgrims or worshippers—sometimes furnish pleasing examples of what is domestic rather than sacred architecture.

And Christian.

The Christian Churches are even less remarkable than the Hindu temples. The Roman Catholic Mission establishment at Agra is of considerable antiquity, having been founded in the reign of Akbar (1556-1605); but its buildings, a Cathedral and an orphanage, are notable less for beauty than for size. The Cathedral is the headquarters of an episcopal see. "Attached to this foundation," writes Mr. Keene, "is a cemetery containing tombs from the earliest date of the Christian settlement. The older inscriptions are all in the Armenian character; but there are some in Portuguese, dating early in the 17th century. Here too lie buried some of the officers of the Marhatta service, ending with John Hessing, who commanded the fort down to his death shortly before the siege by Lake (1803). And here, in a handsome mausoleum, lie the remains of Walter Reinhardt, founder of the short-lived principality of Sardhana,[2] and of the now almost extinct Dyce-Sombre family, whose long litigation with the British Government will be familiar to every one."[3] Places of Anglican worship may be found in the civil station and the cantonments of Agra. The writer just quoted observes that the building in cantonments "was intended by its designers for a church, and is still used as such;" but that, "being in the old Military Board style, it cannot be commended as architecture." At Agra, too, are the chapels of several sects of Protestant nonconformists. There is a small railway church (Anglican) at Túndla, but none at Agra.

[1] Gazr., VI. pp. 369, 370. [2] See Gazr., II., 95-96. [3] The present representative of the family is Reinhard's great granddaughter, Lady Forester.

From the buildings of the people we should shift to their clothing; but on this latter theme nothing need be added to the observations, lengthy and brief respectively, of the Basti and Etáwa notices. The subject of food is not so easily dismissed. The poorer classes live chiefly on the *bájra*, *jodr*, and *kangni* millets, barley, the *arhar* and *moth* pulses, chick-pea or gram, and maize. Those who are better off confine themselves as a rule to wheat, barley, chick-pea, the *másh* and *múng* pulses, bájra and rice.

Food.

Some account of the various edibles prepared from these grains has been given above.[1] To that account the following remarks are merely supplementary. The unleavened wheaten bread of the country (*roti*) is made from the *súji* as well as from the *átá* flour; but from the *maidá* flour never. For sweetmeats and cake all three varieties are used. Bread is sold by and to Muslims only, as the Hindús make their own. Cooked in milk, maidá is called *khír*. Another preparation from wheat is starch (*nishasta*), which, though hardly a food, is sometimes medicinally taken. To make it, the grain must first be soaked, next husked by rubbing and sifting, and finally dried. Wheat, barley, joár, bájra, arhar, and gram are all eaten parched; but the most largely consumed in this form is the pulse last named. From the split and husked peas of gram is ground a flour named *besan*; but if these peas be ground unhusked, the product is called *átá* simply. Bread made from the flour of this and other pulses (*masina*) is known as *misi roti*. A special preparation of gram, and one to which an imported white variety (*kábuli chana*) of this pulse is entirely devoted, may be made by first soaking or steeping the peas and afterwards frying them with clarified butter and condiments.

The total weight of food-grain produced in the district is by Mr. Buck fixed at 310,000 tons.[2] Allowing the population a diet of 18oz. per head daily, he reckons that 211,000 tons are consumed in the district itself; and that a balance of 99,000 tons is left for store or exportation. But, in ordinary years, a full-grown male labourer eats a good deal more than 18oz. daily. Mr. Benson increases the weight to 1 *ser* or about 32oz. To a common labourer the cost of food is therefore, he says, about 1 anna per diem. But the bulk of such labourers, those who work in the fields, receive the greater part of their wages in grain. They, as a consequence, actually spend very little cash on their board; and have indeed very little cash to spend on anything.

Grain outturn of the district.

[1] Pp. 79-80 (Farukhabad notice).

[2] *Answers to Famine Commission*, 1878, Chapter I., statement V.

Cultivators who have milch cattle themselves drink the skim-milk left after removal of the cream. That cream is converted into common or clarified butter, and sold. When at their cheapest, cheap vegetables play an important part in the diet of the poorer classes. The richer orders, the landlords and tradesmen of easy circumstances, live of course in a better fashion; but the cost of their food need not be set higher than 2 annas a head daily. Of grains other than rice they consume less than their poorer neighbours. But of rice and the finer pulses they eat a good deal, while in the preparation of their meals large use is made of condiments (*masálah*), clarified butter (*ghí*), sugar-compost (*gúr*) and curds (*dahí*). Amongst this class, too, vegetables are an every-day article of food; while, when in season, fruits such as mangoes and melons are a frequent luxury.

Customs.

In speaking of customs we deal, not with the branch of revenue so called, but with one or two traditional usages of the people. The *panchávat* or *panch*, at once trades-union committee, court of honour, and tribunal for the decision of matrimonial causes, has been described in several other notices.[1] Panchávats are of two kinds: (1) those appointed by a court of law, to arbitrate between litigants; (2) those convened by the parties themselves or by the chaudhari of the caste, to settle disputes or to lay down rules for the guidance of the guild or brotherhood. An assemblage of the first sort is not, strictly speaking, a local custom. Arbitration is an institution common to most countries; and in this case its existence has been recognized, its decisions are enforced, by statute law. The parties and the arbitrators may belong to any race or any creed; and the number of the arbitrators, though not necessarily confined to that five (*pánch*) which gave the panchávat its name, is small. But a meeting of the second class is peculiar to the lower castes of Hindús and to such Muslims as have not yet discarded the customs of their low-born Hindu forefathers. It consists, as a rule, of all convenable members of the caste or craft; and the judgment of the majority is final. To a panchávat of this description would be referred "all such matters as working for low rates of wages, underselling, rates of commission and agency fees."[2] By it, we might add, would be tried and punished all breaches of caste custom, or of morality as understood by the caste. The questions decided by panchávats are, in fact, social as well as commercial. But as trade and caste are most often convertible terms, it is sometimes hard to say where the commercial question ends and the social question begins.

[1] See Gazr., IV., 285-87 (Etáwa); V., 50-51 (Budáun); and VI., 648 (Basti). [2] Mr. Tupps notes.

Chaudharís.

In the paragraph just concluded was mentioned the *chaudhari*, the chosen or hereditary head of the caste or trade fraternity. Though not universal, the office of chaudhari is well known in most parts of the district. At Agra and Firozabad every trade is provided with a guild-master of this sort. He is elected by his brethren of the same occupation, preference being given to a descendant or kinsman of the former chaudhari. He is the recognized middleman in any dealings between Government and the trade. Thus he furnishes the former with the tariff (*nirakhnáma*) of prices current in the market. If carts be required for transport, it is to the chaudhari of the cartmen that Government applies. At Panáhat, Fatehabad, Iradatnagar, and most other towns of the district, the same arrangement prevails. But at Fatehpur-Síkrí chaudharis are said[1] to be unknown, and at Khairagarh the only castes who elect them are Baniyás (money-lenders and grain-dealers), Bhatiyáras (inn-keepers) and Kolís (Hindu weavers). For his not very arduous labours as representative of the trade, the chaudhari is indemnified in various ways best known to himself. From those whom he provides with jobs he probably obtains a commission. At Khairágarh he gets a double share of food and drink at caste dinners. In some places the headman of the Baniyás is believed to receive small fees on all grain weighed. Natives of this country show great ingenuity in levying and great complacency in paying such perquisites.

Religion Hinduism and Muhammadanism.

The line which severs customs from religion is not a broad one. But on religion little remains to be said which has not been already said in other notices. Of sects which are the kindred or offspring of Hindúism, the Jainas, Síkhs, Bishnois, Sádhs, Bairágís, Jogís and others have all been described elsewhere."[2] Of the Bráhma Samáj nine Hindus out of ten have probably never heard But two small communities of this persuasion, with perhaps a dozen members each, exist at Agra and Túndla respectively. Consisting almost wholly of Bengálís, they conduct their services in the Bengálí language. They describe the educated Hindús of Upper India as sympathizing with the Samáj, but as deterred from joining it by caste prejudices. Muhammadanism proper attracts few fresh proselytes; and the convert is too often some outcast who is hardly worth conversion. But the Wahábís, the Puritans of Islám, who honour not the saints and their tombs, are a constantly increasing and actively proselytizing sect. They are recruited chiefly

[1] Mr. Benson's notes.

[2] See Gazr., III., 497-99; IV., 289-92, 562-65; V., 591-92; and VI., 73-74, 654-57.

from amongst well-educated Musalmáns like the scholars, past or present, of Government colleges. They belong therefore mostly to the middle classes, and as a rule are neither rich nor poor. The majority of Muhammadans they stigmatize as *bid'atí*, heretics and oppressors; while orthodox Islám repays the compliment by calling the Wahábís *káfir* or infidels. Wahábís are seldom allowed to preach in the mosques frequented by other Muslims, but have now a few mosques of their own.

Christianity.

Nowhere in this district is Christianity very flourishing, but experience has shown that it flourishes best in the towns. If the *pagani* or villagers are pagans still, it is not because no efforts have been made to convert them. Thus in 1847 the Baptist Mission established a colony of Native Christians at Chitaura of Fatehabad, some 12 miles south-east of Agra. The colony was not agricultural, and the settlers earned their living chiefly as weavers. It is unlikely, therefore, that they could have excited the jealousy of existing local industries. But, having suffered at the hands of the heathen, they were removed from the original village into a new and separate hamlet called Nistárpur. On the outbreak of the mutiny, this settlement had a population of 104 persons and a Church of 50 communicants, tended by a native pastor. But in the course of the rebellion the little colony was dispersed, never to be re-established. At the same time was dispersed the older Church Mission colony at Sikandra; but this was more fortunate, having since been restored. The Sikandra settlement owed its foundation to the famine of 1837-38. Children of dead or destitute parents were during that visitation collected in an orphanage, where they were afterwards brought up in the Christian faith. A Christian village was built, and in 1842 a Church was opened. The members of the congregation were for the most part employed at the Government Press; and since that institution was removed to Allahabad, the prosperity of the colony has declined. It has a population of over 100 Christians, besides those who are being reared in the orphanage. The Orphanage and Cathedral of the Roman Catholic Mission have been already mentioned. The district capital boasts a Medical Mission, now under the charge of Dr. Valentine. At the same place is a congregation of American Episcopalian Methodists, but this has as yet no missionaries.

Literature and language.

The literature of Agra, so long as Agra had a literature, was almost wholly a Musalmán product. In the century between 1560 and 1660, the century which approximately corresponded with the reigns of Akbar and his two immediate successors, a crowd of

more or less forgotten writers flourished under the patronage of the court. Abú-l-Fazl tells us that, though Akbar "does not care for poets" and "attached no weight to a handful of imagination," thousands of bards haunt the imperial palaces at Fatehpur-Síkri and Agra. But, whether poetry or prose, the literature of this golden age was written in Persian, and was in most cases the product of foreign writers. It was not the expression of the popular feeling in the popular tongue. It was an exotic, and was bound to wither when the hothouse which nursed it had fallen into ruins.

Its alien origin is sufficiently shown by the list of poets in the *Aín-i-Akbarí*. The 140 learned men named by that work were mostly natives of India, and in a good many cases Hindús; but they were not necessarily writers. The bulk of the 59 bards, on the other hand, are Persians from Ispahán, Shíráz, Mashhad or other towns of Írán. But in the poetical expression of their own language these foreigners were distanced by Abú-l-Fazl's own brother, who, like Abú-l-Fazl himself, was an Agra man, born and bred. The dog-loving Abú-l-Fazl, better known under his *nom de plume* of Faizi, was at one time Akbar's Musalmán poet-laureate (*málik-ush-shu'ará*).[1] How kind in those days India was to versifiers is shown by the fact that his predecessor, Ghazali of Mashhad, died worth 2,00,000 rupees. The Hindu poet-laureate (*kabi-ráí*) Rája Bírbal, whose house or daughter's house is still shown at Fatehpur-Síkri, made his art the stepping-stone to important diplomatic and military posts.[2] But prose-writing was often equally lucrative. It was in the first instance by his pen, and not by his sword, that Abú-l-Fazl carved his way to the command of 4,000 horse, with its monthly salary of over Rs. 21,500.[3] His bitter enemy and rival chronicler Abd-ul-Kádir of Budaon[4] was, by reason of religious bigotry, less fortunate; but even Abd-ul-Kádir had little reason to complain of poverty. As a youth he studied for several years at Agra; and in later life took a not unfrequent part in the emperor's religious debates at Fatehpur-Síkri. Here he might sometimes be seen conversing with his friends Shaikh Abd-ul-Hakk, the saintly author of the *Tárikh-i-Hakki*, and Nizám-ud-dín, the better-known compiler of the *Tabákát-i-Akbarí*. Asad Beg, a former servant of Abú-l-Fazl, and himself writer of a chronicle called the *Wikáya'*, was in later years a regular attendant at the court of Agra.

[1] "After Amír Khusrau of Dehli," writes the learned Blochmann, "Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizi." [2] For some account of Rája Bírbal, see Gazr., VI., 203, note. Though for some years resident in this district, he originally came from Kálpi in Jalaun. [3] Out of their salaries Akbar's commanders had to keep up their contingents. But the cost of the contingent, even when kept up to its full strength, seems to have amounted to between a third and a half only of the salary. [4] See Gazr., V., 54

But these contemporaries of Akbar were not the only annalists whose names have been linked with that of Agra. In 1528-29 the district capital was visited by Khondamír, who had travelled from Persia to see what profit might be made out of the emperor Bábar. Some portion of Bábar's own memoirs, as well as of those left us by his descendant Jahángír, must have been composed at Agra. In the time of Jahángír that place was visited by Muzaffar Husain of Hirát, writer of one of the several historical works called *Jám-i-Jahán-numá*.[1] During the same reign flourished Niámat-ul-láh, the most plausible claimant to the authorship of the fairly familiar *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*. Of all the imperial historiographers this Niámat alone has achieved any lasting reputation. The office of historiographer (*wáki'-navis*) was about 1690 abolished by Aurangzeb, who, like Alexander, *edicto vetuit ne quis se pingeret*.[2] It was apparently the historiographer's duty to chronicle whatever in the emperor's every-day life seemed worthy of record; and in providing material for this process were employed a host of subordinate reporters. In 1609, Captain Hawkins tells us of Jahangír that "during the time that he drinks his six cups of strong liquor, he says and does many idle things. Yet whatever he says or does, whether drunk or sober, there are writers who attend him in rotation, who set many things down in writing; so that not a single incident of his life but is recorded," even certain matters of which modern decency forbids the mention.

On becoming about 1836 the seat of the North-Western Provinces Government, Agra once more gave birth to a considerable official literature. Here for instance was published, in 1844, the *Supplemental Glossary* so often quoted in these pages. It was written by Sir Henry Elliot, then Secretary to the Board of Revenue; and by a clerk in his office, Mr. Thomas Beale, was five years later produced a valuable dictionary of dates, or rather chronograms, called the *Miftáh-ut Tawárikh*.[3] But since 1868, when the Government offices and Government Press were removed to Allahabad, literary activity has declined. Agra has still some twelve or fifteen presses, which print in one or more of the three characters, English, Sanskrit, and Persian. Still are published several newspapers, of which the best known is perhaps the now somewhat decayed *Dehli Gazette*. The five vernacular journals are the *Agra Akhbár* or Agra News, the *Terahwín Sadí* or Thirteenth Century (Hijra era), the *Nasím-i-Agra* or

[1] The *Jám-i-Jahán-numá*, or World-reflecting Cup, was filled with a life-elixir whose surface mirrored the whole Earth. It is said to have been discovered by Jamshíd, when that monarch, the "dives Achæmenes" of Horace, was digging the foundations of Persepolis; but, according to another account, was the manufacture of Kai-Khusrau or Cyrus. [2] Dowson's (Elliot's) *Historians*, VII., 174. [3] A notice of this work will be found in Dowson's Historians, VIII., 441.

Agra Zephyr, the *Bhárati Vilas* or Sarasvati's Pastime, and the *Hayát-i Jáwidáni* or Eternal Life. The district capital is the headquarters of one of the two great schools into which Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall[1] divides the Hindi of these provinces. As compared with that of Benares, this school draws more on the Persian and less on the Sanskrit vocabulary. But the printed products of modern Hindi are poor and trivial. They cannot, at all events, be compared with the Persian publications of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There can be no doubt that letters here flourished most in the reign of Akbar; and that the two greatest literary men whom the district has ever produced were the brothers Abú-l-Faiz and Abú-l-Fazl.

The book-Hindi just mentioned approximates to the Urdu or Hindústáni spoken by the upper classes and in towns; but is not the language of the common people. The vulgar tongue is a Hindi *patois* resembling the Braj dialect, but varying much from place to place. To dictionaries many of its words are unknown. For the following brief vocabulary we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. T. Benson, C.S.:—

I.—Terms of kinship.

English.	*Vernacular.*
Father	Báp, pitá, bábá (literally *grandfather*), káká or chachá (lit. *paternal uncle*), burhá or dokrá (lit. *old man*), thákur (lit. *lord*)
Mother	Mái, ammá, mahtárí, arrí, burhiya or dokariyá (lit *old woman*)
Son	Betá, laiká, chhorá, morá
Daughter	Beti, laikaní, chhokrí, chhorí, morí.
Brother	Bhái, jeṭhá (*elder brother*), majhlá (*middle b.*), lonrá (*younger b.*)
Sister	Bahin, jethani (*elder sister*), lonri (*younger s.*).
Wife	Jorú, lugái, bahú, gharwárí, bhairbáni.
Husband	Málik (lit. *master*), gharwára.

II.—Terms relating to cattle.

English.	*Vernacular.*
Cattle	Paue, dhúr.[2]
A pair of draught cattle	Juára.
Cattle-yard	Gher, nohará, rondhí, lotá, got, kirk.
Bullock	Bardá (*full grown*); natkiyá (*young*).
Heifer	Jingará (*cow h.*), toriyá (*buffalo h.*)[3]
Buffalo pasture	Bhainsan.
Hump on neck of oxen	Thátha.
Tuft on end of their tails	Tánkiyá.
The tail itself	Jhúmrá.
Hair on body of cattle	Rom, rompi.
Bullock's leading-rope	Pagaiya.
Goat	Chhiriyá,[4] chheri.

[1] *Hindi Reader*, Preface. [2] The latter term includes horses. [3] Elsewhere pariyá.
[4] Not to be confused with chiriyá, a bird. See above, p. 233, note.

III.—Agricultural terms.

English.	*Vernacular.*
Irrigated land	Nâo.
Bájra millet	Lerá
Mixed gram and barley	Érá or werá.[1]
Autumn crop	Siyári.
Spring crop	Unári.
Sugar crop	*Ikhári.*
Sowing	Báoni
Reaping	Káoni, láí.
Reaper	Láiyá.
Threshing	Dáen, dhâen, málish.
Unripe gram	But.
Fodder	Nírâo, níro.[2]
Beater used in separating pods and leaves of the *arhar* plant from its stalk.	Jhurwe.
Winnowing-basket	Súp.
Apron or cloth which receives, at reaping, the ears of the larger cereals.	Jholí.
Cutting those ears	Chont karná
A sub-tenant	Bhouriyá.[3]

IV.—Expressions of place.

English.	*Vernacular.*
A ravine, fissure	Bhánká; (ravines of Jumna) behar.
Land on edge of ravines	Pákará; (broken country skirting the Chambal) dâng
Stream, water-course	Jhirná.
Hamlet	Pura, bís.[4]
Road	Dagrá, shahr (shahráh?).
Lane	Galiyárá.
Far away	Ant
Close at hand	Dinge.
Side, direction	Lang, alang.
West side	Pachhaiyan lang.
East do.	Purwaiyan lang.
North do (in trans-Jumna tract) ...	Gangaiyan lang.
South do. (in ditto) ...	Jumnaiyan lang
This side of a place	Úlle or.
That *ditto*	Palle or.
Right hand	Jeohí háth.
Left do.	Deoni háth, kherá háth.

V.—Expressions of time.

English.	*Vernacular.*
Early morning	Dotá, dotáhí (*i. e.*, milking time).
Daybreak	Pílí-phate.
Sunrise	Súraj uge.
Sunset or nightfall	Din-munde, din-bhure.
Towards sunset	Jhatá-phate.
Evening	Anth.
At eve	Anth ke cháh, athâen ke jor.
Evening or morning	Chhakwái (time when milk is skimmed?).
After midnight	Adhirat-dhale.
What time?	Kaun khan? kaun birya?
Bed time	Soj-sa'at

[1] In some places this term is applied to the crop only when sown on unwatered ground; while, when watered, that crop is known as bejar. But the word bejar is occasionally used to denote barley alone. *supra*, p. [2] Elsewhere charâ. [3] Elsewhere shikamí. [4] Elsewhere nagla.

VI.—Miscellaneous.

English.	*Vernacular.*
The moon	Jhond (corruption of chánd ?).
A *lotá* (small round metal water pot) ...	Gaihai, garhayá.
A *kátorá* (small metal bowl)	Billiyá
Shoes	Panhaiyá
Earring	Guddá, bírbhil.[1]
Thief	Bhír
A pilferer of crops	Bhariya.
Housebreaking	Endá lagáná.
An alarm-cry	Hankár, kirh, kík, dúnd.
Bribe to recover stolen property, black-mail...	Panhái
Noise of footsteps	Paisar.
To call for help	Dhu rána.
A tyrant, oppressor	Dhingá.
Enmity	Ahkár, írkhá.
A mob	Ther.
To sell	Jhonkhdená.
Keeping a running account, being a regular customer	Ujápat.
Insanity	Lach, devatá-ká-koṛh.
Leave to depart	Sikh.[2]
The arm	Masariyá.

Education.

From the language of clodhoppers we turn to the places where more polished forms of speech are taught. Here, as elsewhere in India, education has become almost wholly the function of Government. The State not only maintains and manages the bulk of the schools, but assists with grants of money most private educational establishments which deserve such aid. All State places of instruction, except the Agra College and its attached High School, are more or less subject to the administrative control of the local school board or educational committee. Of this body the magistrate-collector is *ex-officio* president, and one of his covenanted assistants secretary. But all Government and aided schools are supervised or examined by the educational inspector of the Agra circle, who acts in concert with the committee and has usually, though not necessarily, had some experience in teaching. If the labours of the committee are administrative rather than educational, those of the inspector are rather educational than administrative; but as both work together under the central authority of Government, no accusation of *divisum imperium* can be brought against the system. The committee includes several native and non-official gentlemen, who are thereby encouraged to take an active interest in the mental improvement of their district. But that interest is not always, perhaps, so active as it should be.

The history of State education in Agra begins with the year 1823, when, under the control of the committee of public instruction at Calcutta, the

[1] Elsewhere anth. [2] Elsewhere rukhsat.

college was founded. It was in 1831 educating 180 pupils, at an annual cost of Rs. 16,000; and was during the same year endowed by Government with three-quarters of the rents of a certain village which the last Peshwá of Púna had left for the support of charitable and educational institutions.[1] The annual income from villages in the Agra, Mathura, and Aligarh districts now amounts to Rs. 14,402; the sum funded in Company's paper to Rs 1,78,400. In 1845 Government took up the task of reforming the indigenous, that is the private native, "schools scattered over the face of the country." Two years later three "district visitors" were appointed and placed in charge of seminaries at Panáhat, Kágáraul, and Fatehabad respectively; while salaries of Rs 5 each were granted to the "teachers at Khandaulí, Firozabad, Jagner, Khairágarh, and Irádatnagar." Some official statistics published in 1850 show that during the five years 1844-48 inclusive the average number of these indigenous schools was 231·8, and the average number of their pupils 2,480·8 yearly. The subjects of instruction were the Persian and Hindi languages; but in some of the Hindi schools Sanskrit also was taught.[2] Since 1848 the work of substituting official for private education has progressed till it has reached what may be considered its ultimate limit Government has rehabilitated or founded village schools, as the old prophets were hidden in the cave, "by fifties." A portion of the 10 per cent. cess, assessed at the same time as the land revenue, is set aside for educational purposes But to detail each step in the march of reform would be tedious and needless. It will suffice to mention the following salient facts, which relate not only to Governmental but also to Governmentally aided institutions.

In noticing the latter we must recede a year or two. The Roman Catholic College of St. Peter at Agra was founded in 1846 by the Capuchin Bishop Borgi, funds being provided by his Mission and by contributions in both Europe and India. Also at Agra, in 1850, and by the Protestant Church Mission, was established St. John's College.[3] In 1850-51 the number of colleges and schools in the district is returned as 400, and the number of scholars as 4,121.[4] The great Rebellion offered a temporary check to enlightenment; for *inter arma silent* schoolmasters as well as laws. St. Peter's College and other places of

[1] "*Mauza* Jandáoní" (Jhandawáí of Farah, now in Muttra), writes the Assistant Secretary to Government in 1850, "was granted by Mádho Ráo Naráyan Peshwa, 1204 fasli (1796-97 A.D.), to Gangádhar Pandit for the support of charitable and educational endowments. Under the orders of Government, 13th September, 1831, three-fourths of the village collections are appropriated to the support of the Agra College, and one-fourth is made over to the heirs of the original grantee for their maintenance The village contains 2,922 acres and pays Rs 5,850 per annum." *Statistics of Indigenous Education in the North-Western Provinces*, compiled under orders of Government by R. Thornton, Esq., B.C.S., Assistant Secretary:—Calcutta, 1850. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-62. [3] *Calcutta University Calendar*, 1880-81.
[4] Mr. Atkinson's notes.

education were plundered by the rebels. But in 1860-61 the number of schools nevertheless stands at 357, and the number of scholars at 10,614.[1] In 1860 Agra College, and in 1862 St. John's College, were for the purposes of the B.A degree affiliated to Calcutta University. The latter year witnessed also the foundation of the Victoria College. It seems that a low-caste youth who had turned Christian was admitted to study at St John's College; and that his admission led to the secession of many respectable Hindu Johnians. The movement thus started ended in the establishment, by Pandit Bansidhar and others, of a new college, which is now under the distinguished Hindu patronage of the Mahárájás of Jaipur, Bhartpur, and Alwar. In 1865 this institution was affiliated to Calcutta University, for whose B.A. degree its students thereby became eligible. In 1868 the students of Agra College were admitted to the Law, and in 1870 those of St Peter's to the First Arts examinations of the same university. It will be seen therefore that Agra has now no less than four establishments which give university instruction; they have one and all a serious rival in the Anglo-Muhammadan College at Aligarh; and these facts will merit consideration when, if ever, the question of closing Agra College is discussed. Academical training is as yet in little favour with those upper classes for whose benefit it was mainly intended. But by poorer students it is valued as a high-road to Government appointments.[2]

In 1870-71 the number of schools and colleges had risen to 431, and the number of pupils to 10,823. The more recent statistics for 1880-81 may be shown in greater detail, thus:—

	Class of college or school.	Number.	Number of scholars.			Average daily attendance.	Cost per head.	Expenditure borne by State.	Total charges.
			Hindús.	Musalmáns.	Others.		Rs. a. p.		
Government and Municipal.	College ...	1	28	3	...	21·14	1010 11 9	10,252	34,051
	High School ...	1	313	120	...	346 67	61 0 11	18,487	21,167
	Tahsíli and Pargana ...	12	583	65	..	516 33	7 10 5	3,584	3,951
	Village (Halkabandi)	175	3,818	120	...	2937 03	5 14 5	17,330	17,330
	Government Girls' ...	7	128	1	...	100 78	4 10 0	468	468
	Municipal Boys' ...	1	30	...	...	24 74	4 13 7	...	120
Aided by Government.	High	3	575	144	128	666·14	45 12 0	12,000	27,731
	Middle	3	187	69	287	505·10	27 6 1	6,500	13,831
	Primary	4	113	72	78	225·00	29 9 1	3,778	6,053
	Girls'	5	77	40	252	290 00	23 12 6	2,492	6,896
Unaided.	Missionary and Indigenous ...	193	1,856	1,148	...	2795·17	0 8 11	...	1,551
	Total ...	405	7,708	1,782	745	8368·10	15 15 8	74,891	1,33,749

[1] Mr Atkinson's notes.

[2] *Report of Director of Public Instruction*, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1879, para. 18.

Government and municipal educational establishments.

Of the college little remains to be written. Its superior staff consists of a principal, a professor of literature, and a professor of mathematics. Midway between Government university and Government scholastic establishments should be mentioned the Normal school which prepares young men for teachers' certificates. By a *High school* is meant an institution which teaches boys up to the standard of the matriculation test at Calcutta University. The Government High School is attached to the Agra College in very much the same manner as King's and University College schools in London are attached to King's and University Colleges respectively. Its instruction is delivered in English. Schools which send boys up for the Provincial Middle-Class Anglo-Vernacular Examination are called *Middle schools*. Those which, like the Mufid-i-Am hereafter mentioned, teach English are styled middle English; but those which, like the tahsíli and pargana establishments, educate in vernacular only are known as middle vernacular. The tahsíli schools are at Tajganj, Irádatnagar, Fatehabad, Itimádpur, Firozabad, Báh, Jagner, and Fatehpur-Síkri; the pargana schools at Senna, Panáhat, Khanágarh, and Achhnera.

The village or *halkabandi* schools are scattered broadcast over the district. From the university training of the college, and the "secondary" instruction of the high or the middle school, their simple teaching is distinguished by the epithet of "primary" The classes of primary schools, halkabandi or otherwise, are divided into upper and lower divisions: the former containing those pupils who have passed the Inspector's "lower primary school examination." To the same primary type belong the schools known as Government Girls' and Municipal Boys'. The former are at Itimádpur, Richhapura, Kachaura, Jarár, Irádatnagar, and Saiyan; the latter is at Agra.

Private schools, aided and unaided.

The aided high schools of the above table are St. Peter's, St. John's, and Victoria Colleges. It is their scholastic and not their academical education that is aided; and the educational department therefore classes them as schools only. To what has already been said of St John's College, it may be added that this institution is housed in a large Gothic building designed by Major Kittoe and completed in 1853. It is endowed with several small scholarships. Two of these were founded in honour and bear the name of Lieutenant-Governor Sir James Thomason. Victoria College also has two meagre scholarships, whereof one (the Jaipur-Wales) was endowed in commemoration of the Prince of Wales's visit by the Mahárájá of Jaipur. Though ranked as high schools, all the three colleges just mentioned have primary classes. So too have some of

the middle schools, such as the Mufid-i-Ám at Agra, and that maintained by the Dargáhi fund at Fatehpur-Síkri. The Mufid-i-Ám or "Public Benefactor" is supported by the Agra Municipality and aided by Government. The Dargáhi school at Fatehpur-Síkri is unaided. Amongst aided primary schools may be mentioned those attached to the orphanages of Sikandra (Church Mission Society) and St. Paul (Roman Catholic). To the Sikandra establishment is attached an industrial department where printing, bookbinding, carpentry, cookery, gardening, tailoring, and other useful crafts are taught. St. Paul's Orphanage educates European and Eurasian boys. The East Indian Railway has at Tundla a primary school of whose pupils the average age is about 8 years only.

The most important of the aided girls' schools are the Canning, which is "visited" by the Archdeacon of Calcutta; the Sikandra Orphanage of the Church Mission Society; and the St Patrick's Orphanage (Roman Catholic). Both the Canning and the St. Patrick's Orphanage educate a considerable number of English-speaking children. For native children the Roman Catholics have another orphanage and school named St. Joseph's. In these and some other seminaries for girls needle-work plain and ornamental is taught. It will have been seen by this time that the Mission Societies of various denominations play a most important part in the education of the district. The Church Mission Society has, besides those already mentioned, a girls' school at Katra and a boys' school at Lohe-ke-Mandi. The Katra school educates the better class of Native Christian children, those whose parents can afford to pay for their education. But under the same management and in other quarters of Agra city are four aided schools for poorer girls at Sitlá-gali, Dubkhaya, Hing-ki-Mandi, and Vazírpur. Amongst unaided missionary institutions may be noticed one lately started in Boileauganj by the Baptist Mission.

Post-office.

With increase of education, postal transactions and postal receipts may be expected to increase. But before backing this rather obvious assertion with statistical proof, it will be convenient to say something, for the first and last time, on the history of the Provincial Postal Department and its operations. The yearly reports of that department are not quite so interesting as those of the Postmaster-General in England; and the reader may hardly care, therefore, to investigate the subject for himself.

About 1838-39 the North-Western Provinces post-offices, consisting of some 55 disbursing and subordinate establishments, were formed into a separate division and placed under an officer at first called Superintendent, but afterwards

Postmaster-General. These offices had before been nominally subject to the distant control of the Bengal Postmaster-General at Calcutta. But they had been really managed by the postmasters on the spot, who were either military or medical officers.

The mails were then carried, on almost all the lines, by running postmen (*harkára*); but the greatest speed of these human machines seldom or never, even at the most favourable season of the year, exceeded 4 miles an hour. Across their shoulders they sometimes balanced bamboo rods called *bangí*, to whose ends parcels were attached. The nearest English equivalent which suggests itself is the yoke by which milkmen carry their pails. The use of this simple mechanical contrivance gave rise to the term, not yet obsolete, of *dák bangí* or "banghy post." The postage fees chargeable on letters and other missives were then calculated according to a graduated scale of weights and distances, and were very high compared with the rates at present in force.

About 1842 a horse mail was substituted for runners on the main road from Agra to Cawnpore. The innovation gradually extended to other great highways, such as those leading to Allahabad, Benares, Dehli, and Meerut. It was at last adopted on the Indor line, along which travelled, towards Bombay, the overland mails. At much the same time carriages were made available for the conveyance of passengers, and separate horses maintained for their transport. The increasing weight of bangí despatches caused the introduction of a new vehicle called the *shigram*. This contained accommodation not only for parcels, but for 6 passengers, who were carried at the low rate of one anna per mile. The cheapness of the fare was sufficiently justified by the fact that the large income from postage left an ample surplus, even after the expenses of the passenger service had been defrayed. At a somewhat later date was started an establishment of bullock and four-wheeled wagons, the latter being built at the Aligarh postal workshop.[1] The primary object of this "Bullock Train" was the conveyance, along the road from Allahabad to Agra, Dehli, and Meerut, of the heavy packages disembarked at the place first-named by the Calcutta steamers which then plied the Ganges. The trains at length found their way into the Panjáb and along the Agra-Indor line.

In 1845-46 the "district" mail, which had hitherto been confined to the transmission of official communications between district capitals and outlying tahsílis or police-stations, was thrown open to private correspondence. As the rural public seldom write or receive letters, the boon was really not so great as might at first be supposed. Until 1864-65 the entire management of this

[1] See Gazr, II., 510-20.

district mail remained as before in the hands of the district officials. But was in that year transferred to the Postal Department, which established regular post-offices wherever the extent of public and private correspondence seemed to justify the measure. To each office were attached postmen[1] for the delivery of letters in surrounding villages. Notwithstanding the abolition of the district mail, the prefix "district" is still bestowed on the subordinate offices, which are thereby distinguished from the "imperial" or larger postal centres.

With the gradual development of private enterprise, Government resigned in some degree the functions of a public carrier The postal conveyance of passengers was abolished, while the Bullock Trains were made over to an association called the Indian Carrying Company. After several years' trial this company was found wanting; and the management of the trains was, under orders from the Government of India, resumed by the Postal Department. But with the extension of railways the Horse Mail and Bullock Train establishments have dwindled almost to the vanishing point. The only lines along which mails now travel in horse-vehicles are those from Gorakhpur to Gházipur, Bulandshahr to Chola, Cawnpore to Hamírpur, Bánda to Fátehpur, Rurkí to another Fatehpur, Saháranpur to Mussooree, Mainpuri to Shikohabad, Eta to Shikohabad, and Bareli to Ránibágh. But in every case except the last the Postal Department has resigned the actual carriage of the letter-bags to contractors.

Notwithstanding that its capital is no longer the capital of the provinces, postal transactions have during the past twenty years greatly increased in this district. This fact will be shown clearly enough by the following table:—

Nature of missive.	1861-62.		1870-71		1880-81.	
	Received.	Despatched.	Received.	Despatched	Received.	Despatched.
Letters ...	617,782	631,390	773,199	881,885	1,157,286	No record of covers despatched has during late years been kept.
Newspapers,	49,253	272,872	48,725	282,109	88,088	
Parcels ...	19,565	12,041	3,797	9,440	9,178	
Books ...	6,062	4,250	12,153	10,329	13,468	
Total ...	692,662	920,493	837,874	1,183,749	1,268,020	

The total receipts were in 1861-62, Rs. 1,76,616; in 1870-71, Rs. 52,846; and in 1880-81, Rs. 70,846. The decrease between the first and the last year was due chiefly to the loss of the mail-cart and bullock-train collections. The

[1] Here called post-office peons. The word peon means a foot-soldier, a walking servant and is identical with our chess-term *pawn*.

expenditure seems in most years to have nearly equalled the receipts. But by the transfer, from district treasuries, of the money-order business, the Postal Department has been lately enriched with a new and profitable source of income. It was formerly, as for instance in the first of the years above-named, credited with the receipts from staging bungalows; but the management of such halting-places has long been surrendered to the Public Works Department.

The district contains 26 imperial and 4 district post-offices. The former are at Achhnera, Agra city, Agra civil-lines, Agra-chauk, Báh, Batesar, Bichpuri, Fatehabad, Fatehpur-Sikri, Firozabad, Irádatnagar, Itimádpur, Itimád-ud-daula, Jagner, Khairágarh, Khandauli, Kiráoli, Malpura, Nárkhi, Panáhat, Saiyán, Shahganj, Shamsabad, Sikandra, Tájganj, and Túndla. The district offices are at Duhuki, Kágáraul, Kakúba, and Runkuta But amongst the imperial offices of this district are postally included Dholpur, Dholpur railway-station, and Rájákhera, all in the native state of Dholpur.

Telegraph.

The Government Telegraph Department has an office at Agra; and from this office radiate wires to (1) Alígarh, (2) Bhartpur, (3) Cawnpore, (4) Gwáliar, and (5) Muttra The wires to Bhartpur, Cawnpore, and Gwáliar follow the courses of the Rájputána State, East Indian and Síndia State Railways respectively. All these lines have telegraphs of their own; and wires connect their termini with the Government telegraph-office. The railway telegraph-offices are at Firozabad, Túndla, Barhan, and Agra goods-station, on the East Indian; at Agra-fort, Agra-cantonments, Bichpuri, and Achhnera, on the Rájputána, and at Bhandai and Saiyán on the Síndia State line Another telegraph line flanks the Muttra and Achhnera Light Railway with offices at those places.

Police.

Like the post-office and the telegraph, a regular police was the introduction of British rule. According to the latest "allocation statement" Agra contains 54 police-stations, whereof 17 belong to the first, 17 to the second, and 20 to the third class. There is not, as in most districts, any fourth class. Of the first class stations, six are at Agra, in the city, the cantonments and the Chháta, Lálkurti, Lohe-ki-mandi and Rikábganj quarters. The remainder are at Báh, Fatehabad, Firozabad, Irádatnagar, Itimádpur, Jagner, Jaitpur, Kháira-garh, Kiráoli, Panáhat, and Saiyán. The second-class stations are those at Achhnera, Aháran, Batesar, Duhuki, Fatehpur-Síkri, Hariparbat, Itimád-ud-daula, Kágáraul, Kakúba, Khandauli, Malpura, Nárkhi, Nabohra, Runkuta, Shamsabad, Sikandra, and Tájganj. The sites of the third-class stations are

Alamganj, Belanganj, Boilcauganj, Chársúdarwáza, Gokulpura, Gudri-Mansúr, Hazratpur, Jai-chauki, Jeoni-mandi, Kále-khán, Kenjra, Kumerpur, Madan-mohan, Midhákúr, Naí-mandi, Pípal-mandi, Rohta, Sarendhi, Sháhganj, and Tehra. Each first-class station is usually officered by one sub-inspector and two head-constables, but the complement of foot-constables rises from a minimum of nine in the country to 37 in the town. The force at the second-class stations consists in most cases of two head and nine foot-constables. At the third-class stations are quartered from one to two head-constables and from 3 to 21 common policemen.

Most stations, of whatever class, are manned by the regular police enrolled under Act V. of 1861. But this force is assisted by the municipal and town police recruited under Acts XV. of 1873 and XX. of 1856 respectively; and from the municipal police some city stations draw the whole of their little garrison. In 1879, the three forces mustered together 1,249 men of all grades, including 32 mounted constables. There was thus one policeman to every 1·47 square miles and every 780 inhabitants. The cost of the force was Rs. 1,40,613, of which Rs. 97,123 were debited to provincial revenues and the remainder defrayed from municipal and other funds. The following statement shows for a series of years the principal offences committed and the results of police action therein :—

Year.	*Cases cognizable by police.*					*Value of property.*		*Cases.*			*Persons.*			
	Murder.	Gang robbery.	Simple robbery.	House-breaking	Theft.	Stolen.	Recovered.	Total cognizable.	Under inquiry.	Prosecuted to conviction.	Brought to trial.	Convicted or committed to sessions.	Acquitted.	Percentage of convictions on number tried.
						Rs.	Rs.							
1875	17	4	22	912	1,060	53,224	17,275	4,049	4,520	1,883	4,813	3,248	1,491	67·48
1876	22	6	30	980	1,317	64,553	19,370	4,832	3,468	1,142	2,532	1,886	631	74·44
1877	19	11	33	1,095	2,005	69,780	24,814	6,742	5,193	2,966	5,450	4,732	1,038	79·48
1878	23	7	42	1,391	3,000	81,018	28,072	6,890	5,833	3,086	5,618	4,439	1,041	80·45
1879	17	3	28	772	1,671	46,591	21,093	4,303	3,270	1,710	3,288	2,690	665	81·81
Total ...	107	31	155	5,160	8,953	3,14,768	1,10,054	27,425	22,093	10,487	21,601	16,594	4,711	...
Average ...	21·4	6·2	31·	1,033·8	1,790·6	62,953 6	22,130 8	5485·	4,418·6	2,097 4	4320 2	3,318·8	942·2	76·80

The averages are perhaps raised by the fact that 1877 and 1878 were years of abnormal dearth, and therefore of abnormal crime. Besides the regular

and town police, there are 2,258 village and road watchmen, organized under Act XVI. of 1873. These were in 1879 distributed amongst the 2,740 inhabited villages of the district at the rate of one to every 397 inhabitants. Their sanctioned cost, Rs. 81,876. was met out of the 10 per cent. cess.

Infanticide.

Here, as usual, measures for repressing the murder of female children engross an important share of the policeman's already much-divided attention. Under Act VIII. of 1870, twenty-four clans, inhabiting 51 villages, are proclaimed as suspected of practising the crime. The authorities best qualified to decide on the matter have not yet recommended the suspension of harassing repressive regulations, and it may therefore be admitted that ample grounds for suspicion exist. But how seldom suspicion is justified by legal proof must at once strike the reader of infanticide archives. In Agra, writes the special provincial report of 1878-79, "the mortality between 1 and 12 years of age was excessively heavy, being for boys 6·90 and for girls 11·84 (per cent) In the years one to four the girl mortality was very excessive, and there cannot be a doubt that it was due to neglect. Eighty-five inquests and 47 *post-mortems* were held during the year. In 14 cases there was suspicion of foul play, but nothing was made of them." In the following year (1879-80) "there were 127 inquests and 57 *post-mortems*. In seven cases the circumstances were suspicious, but in only one was the evidence considered sufficient to warrant committal. In this case the mother and grandmother were committed to sessions, but were acquitted. The Civil Surgeon's statement clearly proved that the child had been killed by having mud forced down its throat, and this could only have been done by the mother or grandmother, or with their knowledge." In reading the first of these extracts it must not be forgotten that 1878-79 was a year of famine and fever. If, in such years and in India, the question arises which children shall be saved first, opinion both private and public votes for the boys. Few countries, probably, are more deeply imbued with the idea that "the masculine gender is more worthy than the feminine." In the twelvemonth just mentioned, the reported proportion of boy-births was slightly less than that of girl-births; and in the following year the relative birth-rates of the two sexes were returned as normal. It is improbable, therefore, that girl-births are concealed to any great extent; but, to render assurance doubly sure, four of the more suspected villages are obliged to report their pregnancies to the police.

Central prison and district jail.

Convicts imprisoned through the agency of the police are sent to the central prison or the district jail. The central prison receives offenders from the whole of the Agra division,

and sometimes from other parts of the provinces, or from Ajmer; the district jail admits few who were not sentenced in the Agra district itself. Prisoners whose term exceeds two years are generally lodged in the central, and prisoners whose term is shorter in the district establishment. But there is no fixed rule as to the length of sentence which shall qualify the convict for either. Long-term prisoners who can make themselves useful as workmen or jail officials are often retained in or removed to the district jail. The overflowings of the central prison are sometimes transferred to the district jail and *vice versâ*.

Statistics of the former and of the latter.

The total number of convicts in the central prison during 1880 was 3,506, of whom 1,908 had remained there since previous years. The number discharged amounted to 1,436, and the daily average of inmates to 2,082·41. Of the 1,598 persons admitted, 1,216 were received from other districts. The bulk of the convicts were of course between 16 and 60 years old, but 90 being below the former and 214 above the latter age. The *gross* yearly cost of each prisoner was Rs. 39-9-10½; but in the calculation of this total the provincial jail report makes no allowance for expenditure on prison buildings and repairs. The principal items were rations (Rs. 12-4-5½) and charges of establishment (Rs. 12-13-10). The *net* cost, after deducting profits of manufactures, was Rs. 16. Amongst those manufactures wool-spinning and cloth-weaving fill a conspicuous place.

The following table shows, for the same year, the statistics of the district jail. It includes the figures of a temporary prison which, between 1878 and the end of 1880, occupied the old elephant-sheds of the emperors at Sikandra. This short-lived establishment was opened to meet the demand for accommodation during the scarcity of 1877-78, when petty offences were rife. It received prisoners not only from the districts of the Agra division, but from collectorates even as far distant as Badáún and Bijnor:—

Total number of prisoners during the year.	Males.	Females.	Average daily number of prisoners.	Admitted during the year.	Discharged during the year.	Admitted to hospital during the year.	Deaths.	Total yearly cost per head of average strength.	Net yearly cost per head of average strength, after deducting profits of manufactures.
								Rs. a. p.	Rs
1,961	1,961	...	501 03	1,355	1,431	681	29	32 5 9	20

The absence of females will at once be noticed. Of the total number of inmates 115, chiefly debtors, had been imprisoned by order of the civil courts. A comparison of the number of admissions with the total number of prisoners during the year will show that 606 of the latter had remained in jail since former years. Of the 519 persons who remained at the close of 1880, three were Christians, 115 Musalmáns and 401 Hindús. Though not shown in the table, the absence of boys under 16 years of age was as remarkable as that of women. Boys under 16 are usually punished with whipping rather than imprisonment. Three hundred and ninety-eight prisoners were returned as between 16 and 40 years old, 103 as between 40 and 60, and 18 as above the latter age. The greater part of the average yearly expenditure on each prisoner consisted in the cost of his rations (Rs. 12-15-1½). The remainder was made up of his shares in the expenditure on establishment (Rs. 0-14-1¾), clothing (Rs. 3-9-10½), police-guards (Rs. 3-4-4¼), hospital charges (Rs. 2-0-1½), and contingencies (Re 0-10-1¼). The average number of effective workers throughout the year was 443·80. Of these most were employed on manufactures (263·15) and on miscellaneous prison duties, such as gardening, corn-grinding, or tailoring (155·06). The former occupation of the prisoners was in few cases such as to fit them for profitable work in jail. The artisan class was altogether unrepresented. The majority of the convicts had been agriculturists (195), professional persons (31), and men of miscellaneous pursuits.

Lock-ups.

Under-trial prisoners are at times confined in both the central prison and the district jail, but their more proper lodgings are the magisterial and cantonment lock-ups (*havaldt*). In 1880, 2,178 persons were admitted to the Magistrate's, and 106 to the cantonment establishment. From the former 1,615 and from the latter 90 were afterwards transferred, as convicts, to the prison or the jail. The average daily population was, in the Magistrate's lock-up, 44·5, and in the cantonment lock-up 1·0.

Fiscal history.

Between lock-ups and land-revenue the connection is truly microscopic. In passing from one to the other we follow, not the natural sequence of ideas, but the precedent of former notices. An ingenious critic described Johnson's Dictionary as "interesting, but somewhat disconnected;" and somewhat disconnected must also be those works of reference which are uninteresting.

First triennial settlement.

The district was conquered towards the close of 1803; and for about two and a half years its land-revenue was settled in what is called a summary manner. The troubled state of

the country, the absence of maps and statistics, and other pressing business, such as measures for the protection of life and property, forbade assessment on any but the most rough-and-ready principles. The first regular settlement, regular only by comparison with those that preceded it, was effected in 1805-06 or 1213 of the harvest era. "Of the proceedings at that date," writes Mr. Evans, "nothing more is known than the amount of the revenue demand, and that with some uncertainty." The following extracts from a letter in the records of the Board of Revenue will, however, throw some light on the subject:—

"3. Immediately on receiving charge of the district," writes Collector[1] Alexander Ross, "I issued a publication throughout all the parganas, with the exception of Báh-Panáhat, informing the *málguzárs* (revenue-payers) that a triennial settlement would now be concluded with them, and calling upon them to attend me for that purpose. At the same time I directed the tahsíldárs to place watchmen on the crops and to repair to me with the least possible delay, together with the *kánúngos and chaudharis* of their respective parganas. All the *zamíndárs*, with the exception of a very few, attended me with the utmost readiness; and I effected the settlement without any considerable difficulty, having fixed the *jama* (revenue) on the grounds and information explained in the following paragraphs.

"4. Proposals were consequently tendered to me for all the parganas of the district by several persons for each pargana. As those persons had been employed as *ámils* (farmers of taxes and general administrators) under the late Government, they not only knew the former resources of the parganas which they were desirous to farm, but being acquainted with their principal inhabitants, and having resided in the district ever since it came into our possession, they had the means of ascertaining pretty correctly the present actual state of them.

"5. For want, therefore, of more satisfactory accounts which could not be immediately, and perhaps not at any time, obtained, I fixed the amount of the proposals[2] which had been tendered for each pargana as the total jama to be assessed on it for the current year and allotted it on the different estates, on a consideration of the *jama wásilbáki* (collections and arrears of revenue) accounts for the years 1212 and 1211, and the same accounts for the years 1210, 1209, and 1208,[3] the three last years of the late Government, the estimates for the current year delivered by the tahsíldárs, and the information furnished by the kánúngos and chaudharis respecting the state of the cultivation."

"8. It may be necessary in this place to mention that the jama as now fixed is considered to include *jalkar, bankar, parjai* (fishery dues, forest dues, ground-rent), and all other articles of collection (with the exception of the revenue produced from the manufacture of salt) derived immediately from the lands. No specification is made in the engagements of the málguzárs of the amount charged on account thereof; all such articles of collection, according to the reports of the kánúngos, having been always considered as forming a part of the *mál* or land-revenue assessed on the different estates."

"13. The proportion of the lands held by farmers (of revenue), exclusive of pargana Báh Panáhat, is considerable. The farmers, however, have been long in possession; and the

[1] Collector to Board of Commissioners for conquered and ceded provinces, 25th July, 1806.
[2] On the analogy of what was done in other districts, it may be inferred that "the amount of the highest proposal" is meant. [3] 1212 of the harvest era=1804-05 A.D.; 1210, 1802-03; and 1208, 1800-01.

settlement has been concluded with them in general with the consent of the proprietors, conformably to engagements existing between them (the proprietors) and the farmers."

From this document the following conclusions may fairly be drawn :—The settlement of 1805-06 was deductive rather than inductive; it worked from generals to particulars, and not from particulars to generals. The land-tax was, in the first instance, assessed on the large collection of estates called a pargana, and not, as now, on the individual estate. The sum fixed for each pargana was the sum tendered by some contractor or contractors who wished to farm its revenues; and, in case of competition, was probably the highest sum tendered. The lump amount thus imposed on the pargana was then distributed amongst its component estates, in proportion to their solvency; the extent of that solvency being reckoned from their payments in former years, and from the forecasts of responsible officials with local knowledge. In most cases the proprietor of an estate was allowed to engage for its revenue. But in a good many instances, where an old and trusted contractor had by private arrangement induced the proprietors to forego this privilege, the said contractor was permitted to engage for a whole group of estates. It will shortly be seen that, on taking possession of the district, we found proprietary rights in full and vigorous existence. The owners and the culivators of the soil were not necessarily the same persons. The conditions of Agra and of Rohilkhand were not in this respect alike.[1]

Arrangements in Bah Panáhat.

It may, perhaps, have been noticed that the last of the paragraphs above quoted excludes from consideration Báh and Panáhat, then separate parganas. The revenue of both these tracts was farmed by a single contractor. Witness the following quotations :—

"In the *fasli* (harvest) year 1212, after the Marhatta chief Tántia had been driven from the district of Báh and Panáhat, the acting Collector Mr Cunynghame, gave it in farm to Shiúnandan Dichhit, the *diwán* (steward) of the Bhadauria rája, Partáb Singh, for one year, at the *jama* (revenue) of 82,501 rupees, exclusive of *sáir* (miscellaneous dues).

"In February, 1805, Báh and Panáhat was (*sic*) annexed to the collectorship of Agra. At that period Naráyan Singh and Ghulámi Khan, on the part of Holkar, were committing depredations and collecting sums of money from the district. When Mr. Cunynghame gave the pargana in farm to Shiúnandan Dichhit, he also gave him reason to expect the assistance of a military force in the event of an invasion or disturbance. Therefore, when Naráyan Singh and Ghulámi Khan invaded it—there being no disposable force at Agra—I conceived it expedient, on Shiúnandan Dichhit's representation, to grant him permission to entertain a number of horse and foot: the former not to exceed 100, the latter not to exceed 500.

"The expenses incurred on this account until the arrival of Colonel Bowie's detachment were Rs. 12,330.

"Báh-Panáhat is situated on the frontier of the Rána of Gohad's country, and protected by the river Chambal and deep ravines. Its inhabitants are notorious for being refractory. When

[1] See Guzr., V., 602-05.

under Mr. Cunynghame's management they obstinately withheld coming to any settlement; and during the Marhatta Government a strong force was always employed to enforce the collections. Rája Partáb Singh—of an ancient family and proprietor of the greater part of the *Bhadauria* district—having considerable influence and being at all times able to command a force, I therefore conceived his diwán able to check their licentious and turbulent spirit and effect without difficulty the realization of the collections.

"These circumstances, as well as that of the diwán laying constant claim to the deduction of Rs. 14,240 (which I positively refused to pay), induced me to let him have the parganas of Báh and Panáhat at the increased annual rent of Rs. 7,500 upon the jama of 1212 fasli, with the security of Rája Partáb Singh and subject to the approval of the Board. Upon these terms I, on the 14th of October, 1805, gave Shiúnandan Dichhit a *patta* (lease) for three years. I ought to have observed that during the negotiation I called upon several respectable men as well as former renters; but none of their proposals came near to those of the present renter.

"In the fasli year 1211 (1803-04 A.D.) parganas Báh and Panáhat were given in farm to Brijbási Lál at a jama of Rs. 90,001, including the sáir; when the sáir alone amounted to Rs. 12,500. In 1212 it was given to Shiúnandan Dichhit for Rs 82,501, exclusive of the sáir."[1]

This arrangement did not, however, work so smoothly as might have been expected. The inhabitants of Báh-Panáhat seem to have altered little since Akbar crushed their bandit chief beneath the feet of his elephants.[2] Some five months later the Collector again complains that the whole of Báh-Panáhat "is intersected with ravines and hollows, in which the different villages (some of which are strongly, and all in some degree, fortified) are situated. The zamíndárs and inhabitants are all robbers and plunderers, who extend their depredations many *kos* in every direction. Little attention is given by them to agriculture, and consequently but a very small proportion of the lands of the pargana is cultivated."[3] All parganas included, the demand of this first settlement amounted to Rs. 11,65,008.

Proposals for a permanent settlement.

About a year before its term expired there arose, as elsewhere, schemes for a permanent assessment resembling that of Bengal and Benares. The Collector's remarks on the proposed measure may as before be quoted at length. They give us an interesting insight into the then condition of the district:—

"The district," he writes,[4] "is in general well cultivated; and no very great further improvement can, I think, be expected either from the cultivation being extended or from the introduction of the cultivation of more valuable articles. The population is by no means deficient, and the zamíndárs for the most part neither want resources nor seem to be deficient in experience. The proprietary right in the lands is not generally contested; there are at present but few causes for estates before the court. More may be hereafter instituted on the ground of former possession, but I will venture to say that few of the claimants will be able to prove that they

[1] Acting Collector to Secretary, Board of Commissioners, 6th March, 1806. [2] *Supra* account of the Bhadaurias. [3] Collector to Board, 5th August, 1806. [4] To Board, 29th September, 1807.

held possession under a better title than the present occupants. In short, I am of opinion that the state of the district is in every respect such as would warrant the immediate introduction of a permanent settlement; at least that it is capable of now yielding as large a fixed revenue as Government can expect ever to obtain from it, allowing such room for further improvement as ought to be left to encourage the industry of the landholders and to render their property in the lands of any value. The parganas of Farah and Fatehpur-Sikri ought not, perhaps, to be included under this description. A considerable quantity of land fit for cultivation is still waste or deserted in those parganas, owing principally to the devastations committed in them during late and former wars.

"But although I am of opinion that the general state of the district would warrant the immediate introduction of a permanent settlement, I do not think that such a settlement can be yet effected, both from the want of correct information respecting the actual resources of the different estates, and from the unwillingness of the zamíndárs to engage for their lands at such a jama as could be declared fixed in perpetuity without prejudice to the interest of Government.

"The zamíndárs here have been so accustomed to changes of Government, and the present has yet been established so short a time, that they naturally do not expect that it will last longer than the former. They will therefore prefer a temporary settlement at a low jama for any term, however short, to a permanent one at a jama which, if proportionate to the produce of their lands, would exceed what had ever been paid by them before.

"The want of correct information respecting the assets of the lands will render it difficult to form even a temporary settlement in such a manner that the jama shall be apportioned equally on all the different estates. The only documents which I at present possess for regulating the assessment of the jama are the *wásilbáki* (collections and arrears) accounts delivered by the kánúngos of the several parganas for a period of ten years ending 1210 (1802-03 A. D.), the last year of the former Government. But these accounts are not sufficient. They only exhibit the jama assessed on the different estates in each year of the above period and the amount realized from them by the ámils, which did not bear any regular proportion to the capability of the lands. The ámils, under the former Government, collected the revenue by violent means. They enforced from the petty zamíndárs nearly the full jama which their estates enabled them to pay, while from those who could make any opposition they were content to accept much less.

"The other accounts which will be obtained are those which have been required by you from the tahsíldárs respecting the quantity of land in cultivation and the different articles of produce; the *jamabandi* or rent-rolls of the different estates; and the *dasl* or estimates prepared by the kánúngos of the jama which each estate is capable of yielding. The accounts of the quantity of land in cultivation, as well as the jamabandi accounts, will be obtained from the *patwári* (village accountant); but, as these officers consider themselves altogether the servants of the zamíndárs, will be deserving of very little credit. The estimates of the kánúngo, if prepared in the common way, will probably exhibit only the jama which those officers think the zamíndárs will be induced to assent to; or, if the jama should be stated in them which it is supposed the estates are really capable of yielding, being formed from no particular information, they will be unsupported by any satisfactory proof of accuracy.

"With a view to prevent, as far as possible, falsification on the part of the patwáris, and to procure from them accounts in any degree useful, I have directed the tahsíldárs to go themselves to every estate, to view the state of the cultivation and to take the accounts on the spot. I have also directed the kánúngos to prepare their estimates in the same manner, and to detail in

them the quantity of every kind of land in cultivation, and customary rates of rent which they know to be paid for each kind in their respective parganas I am afraid that, notwithstanding these directions, the information submitted to you will be very defective, and that consequently the progress of the settlement will be retarded much longer than perhaps you expect.

"The accounts as above required cannot be prepared in less than six weeks or two months. The zamíndárs also cannot leave their estates till the month of Aghan (November-December). In consequence of the very unfavourable season, the cultivation of their lands for the *rabi* (spring) crop will not have been completed before that time. It will be therefore impossible to enter upon the settlement, at least to commence taking engagements from the zamíndárs, sooner than the end of November or the beginning of December."

Second triennial settlement and its quinquennial extension.

The settlement of the following year (1808-09) was not, however, a permanent settlement. Its original term was fixed, as elsewhere in the ceded and conquered provinces, for three years. But on the expiry of that period, when in other districts a fresh assessment for five years was introduced, the Agra settlement seems to have been merely extended a lustre. It lasted therefore until 1816-17; and meanwhile its demand, for the whole district, was Rs. 13,80,324. The figure shows an increase of Rs. 2,15,316, or 16 per cent. above that of the first settlement. An enhancement was made in every pargana, although the rise in Panáhat was trifling. The assessment was in every pargana south-west of the Jumna, except Panáhat, effected by Mr. Collector Ross; in the tract just named by his successor Mr. Trant; and in the parganas north-east of the Jumna by Mr. Trant or his successor, Mr. Martin.[1] Of the character of Mr. Ross's assessment and the condition of the country at that time, Mr. Mansel writes in 1841 as follows:[2]—

"The Agra parganas had long formed the vicinity of the metropolis; and under the Játs and Marhattas the country had been subjected to a cultivation forced by rack-renting.[3] Farmers were easily to be had, and capital was more abundant than in less populous and more distant provinces. All information establishes this fact. Mr Ross in 1808, in his reports to the Board of Commissioners, states that most of the estates in the *zila* (district) were already near to complete cultivation; and, with the exception of parganas Farah, Fatehpur-Sikri, and Sarendhi (Khairágarh) he had already[4] recommended that the triennial settlement, then being formed, should be declared permanent in the zila. On this and other points connected with the

[1] By which is somewhat doubtful. See Mr. Evans's *Settlement Report*, p. 31. The Board's records show that Mr. Ross made over charge to Mr Trant early in January, and Mr Trant to Mr. Martin early in April, 1809. The compiler has been able to trace amongst the same archives the report on parganas Báh and Panáhat, but not that or those on parganas Khandauli (Itimádpur) and Firozabad. [2] *Reports on the settlement of the N.-W. P. under Regulation IX.*, 1833, Benares, 1865, Vol. II., part 1, pp. 179-80. The extract quoted is given also by Mr. Evans. [3] Mr. Mansel probably means that, in order to meet high rents, the tenant was obliged to cultivate inferior or exhausted land; to grow, perhaps, two crops yearly on unmanured soil, the first for food and the second for rental. It should be remembered that though there are ordinarily two harvests in the year, both are not ordinarily reaped off the same fields. [4] Report to Board, 22nd January, 1808.

settlement I put myself in detailed communication with Bahádur Singh, who was acting díwán[1] of Mr. Ross at the formation of this settlement. From him, too, I learnt that in Huzúr Tahsíl, Irádatnagar, Fatehabad, Firozabad, and Khandauli, (Itimádpur), the resources had been completely drawn out at the conquest;—the Dúáb parganas having been under the management of General Perron, and the others under that of Colonel Hessing, the administration of both which officers was much superior to that of the Native Governments: while Farah, Fatehpur-Síkri, Sarendhi, and Báh-Panáhat, possessing a soil of inferior quality, were lying waste to some extent in 1803, and were, therefore, susceptible of future increase from the breaking up of culturable land. Next, as to the character of the assessment, I find from a reference to the settlement reports of Mr. Ross that the allowance of the assets granted to the zamindárs was, on an average, somewhat more than one-fourth, and in some few cases that it was nearly one-third. Mr. Ross speaks with confidence of his plans for getting at the gross assets of the lands, and of his success in arriving at the truth, or rather that his estimate was within the range of the actual assets. On the whole, therefore, there seems to have been good groundwork for general views in Mr Ross's measures, with two exceptions. First, Farah was comparatively rather over-assessed by Mr. Ross. The soil was poor, the people were turbulent and predatory. The large increase which was exacted on the settlement of 1213-15 *fasli* (i. e, the preceding settlement) bore hard on the capabilities of a division where agriculture was most sluggish and the people most unthrifty in their habits. In Fatehpur-Síkri Mr. Ross was less successful in getting at the real assets than elsewhere. The pargana had suffered much during 1804-05 from the Holkár *gardi* (invasion) and the war with Bhartpur. On this very account a low assessment had been imposed by Mr. Ross himself at the previous triennial settlement. Besides this one Meghráj, kánúngo, held several estates, and could not be induced to support Mr. Ross in his searching inquiry into the state of the *mahdls* (estates); for which misconduct Meghráj lost his office. In respect to Báh Panáhat, owing to Mr. Ross's removal at the close of 1808, the settlement fell on a new officer, Mr. Traut, under whom partly from want of complete information, partly from the zamindárs being largely Bhadauriya Rájputs (a class not easy to rack-rent), and further from land being really uncultivated, a low range of Government demand was taken. The settlement of the Dúáb parganas was made without any of the detailed inquiry of Mr. Ross."

Third (quinquennial) settlement and its extensions.

If the second settlement suddenly and largely inflated the revenue, the third was even more avaricious. Effected between 1816 and 1820, between 1223 and 1227 of the harvest era, it imposed a total demand of Rs. 16,45,927. The increase on the preceding demand, fixed in 1808, was Rs. 2,65,603, or 19 per cent.; the increase on the penultimate demand, fixed in 1805, was Rs. 4,80,919, or 41 per cent. About Rs. 77,000 of the enhancement seem, however, to have been due to the taxation of land hitherto held revenue-free under invalid grants; and, this sum deducted, the rise above the demand of 1805 would be 34 per cent. only. The term originally fixed for the new assessment was five years; but quinquennial and other extensions kept it in force until superseded by the settlement of 1838-41. A partial revision was indeed effected under

[1] In a report to the Board, November 28th, 1808, recommending that Badádur Singh be confirmed in the situation of díwán, Mr. Ross speaks of that officer having shown himself, during the formation of the settlement, fully qualified to perform the duties of the office.

Regulation VII. of 1822 by Mr. Collector Boddam. But, being based on exaggerated soil-rates, his assessment proved excessive ; and it was lucky that it extended over 64 villages only.

The settlement of 1816-20 was in the Dúáb parganas the work of Mr. S. M. Boulderson. Like those of Mr. Ross (in 1805 and 1808), his proceedings "were founded on a system of detailed and careful investigation as respects aggregate demand."[1] This probably means that Mr. Boulderson assessed the demand on the pargana first and on the estate afterwards. We are told by the same writer that, owing to its wealth of *bhayáchára* tenures, Khandauli (Itimádpur) was more lightly assessed than Firozabad. "There being no tenantry in such estates, or at least no general rent-roll, it was difficult at that season to bring such estates under assessment equal to natural capabilities." The settlement of the cis-Jumna parganas appears, however, to have been very unsatisfactory. Mr. Mansel reports:—"The settlement of 1223-27 fasli in the six parganas west of the Jumna was made by Mr. Wright, the jamas of a few villages, which were recusant, being finally settled by Mr. H. G. Christian. No real information or correct principle of assessment seems to have been possessed by Mr. Wright. Exaggerated dauls, secret information, and farming offers were the machinery resorted to for the revision of the demand of the Government. The increase in Farah, Huzúr Tahsíl, and Báh-Panáhat, as also part of the present pargana of Fatehábad, was excessive and injurious. Much of the benefit of Mr. Ross's labours was thus marred; and those parganas that continued lightly or moderately assessed owed their fortune to the influence of the parties connected with the confidential advisers of the Collector. Sarondhí (Khairágarh), Fatehpur-Síkri, and parts of Irádatnagar and Fatehábad thus remained without any undue pressure on their resources. Mr. Christian very properly reduced the jamas of the villages which by reason of recusancy remained unsettled on his receiving charge of his office."

Fourth settlement, 1834-41 to 1872-80.

Mr. Mansel now passes from the position of the critic to the position of the criticised. The next settlement, under Regulation IX. of 1833, was his own handiwork. That it was fairly successful was perhaps due rather to the conditions under which he worked than to his personal efforts. The following passage from his report reveals a somewhat antiquated idea of the Settlement Officer's duties:—"Short of a resort to a system of settling a district by encampment and personal inspection, which in Agra would have occupied five years, I am not aware that

[1] Mr. Mansel's report, 1841.

the main advantages contemplated could have been better conferred on this district than has been done by the settlement operations carried out by myself. The *dast*, or estimate of the native officers, is no doubt the real basis of work of this character."

But the means of checking the work of native subordinates were certainly far ampler than before. With the regulation just mentioned were introduced the novelties of an accurate professional survey and classification of soils, a precise record of the various rights existing in the land, and a regular determination of standard rent and revenue rates for different circles or tracts. The scientific survey—in Agra the first and last of its kind—was effected during 1837-39 by Captains Wroughton and Fordyce. Its principal results may be set forth thus :—

Unassessable area in acres.	Assessable area in acres.				Total area in acres.
	Culturable	*Cultivated.*			
		Watered.	Dry.	Total.	
258,037	85,101	393,948	372,421	766,369	1,710,407

The survey was accompanied by the preparation of a field index (*khasra*). Soils were carefully classified as manured,[1] clayey, or sandy. The parganas were divided in circles (*chak*) corresponding with natural differences of surface. For the different soils of each circle were assumed acre rent-rates varying but slightly from those actually paid; and as a rule two-thirds of the assumed rent-rate was taken as the revenue-rate. Applied to the assessable area of each circle, these revenue-rates yielded of course a figure which might be, and in some cases was, fixed as the ultimate demand.

In fixing, however, the gross demands of the different parganas, Mr. Mansel seems to have been guided by more general principles, or rather by the example of his predecessors. As the basis of his revision he accepted, for the Dúáb parganas, Mr. Boulderson's settlement of 1816-20; for the rest of the district

[1] The terms manured and loamy seem then to have been regarded as identical. *Dúmat* is translated "manured soil."

Mr. Ross's settlement of 1808-09. Having given his reasons for this course, which have been quoted above, he proceeds to inquire whether the means of the agricultural community had increased from—(1) any increase in the productiveness of the soil; (2) any reduction (by improvements in land-tenures, greater facilities of borrowing capital, canal-irrigation or otherwise) in the proportion of the gross produce required to remunerate the cultivator; or (3) any increase in the price of produce. Each of these three questions he answers in the negative. "The soil," he says, "by common consent of Europeans and natives connected with the land, is overcropped; and its yield is less. Little if anything has been done in this quarter, by the action of society or legislation, to render the net return (or the value of the net return) of farming and cultivation greater; while in respect to prices, though grain has decidedly risen during the past thirty years in the Agra market 10 per cent. in price—yet, as the rise in price in that proportion of grain that is of necessity expended in the farmer's and *ásámi's* (cultivator's) consumption, has no influence on rents; as the yield appears undoubtedly less; and as the deduction in the earlier assessments was, say, as one-fourth compared to the one-third now usually allowed, there seems not, in this degree of rise, the means of bearing any much greater burden. Sugar, from the dry and sandy character of the soil, is scarcely grown in the Agra district. Indigo is produced but slightly; Mr. Wright being the only planter remaining, and his outturn being small. Cotton occupies about one-tenth of the area; but its rise in price since 1808 has not materially advanced the condition of the grower. On the whole, therefore, the natural rent assets have little improved since the 1216 *fasli* and 1223 settlements in Agra."

He at length decides that the settlements of 1808 and 1816 left the Home tahsíl, Irádatnagar, Firozabad and most of Fatehabad assessed at a sufficiently full amount; that in Farah the revenue imposed had been rather heavy; that in Khandauli, Panáhat, Fatehpur-Síkri and the *ta'allukadári* estates of Fatehabad some increase was fairly obtainable. The result of his own revision was in general accordance with this conclusion. In Khandauli and Fatehpur-Síkri he increased the demand by 5 per cent.; in Khárágarh and the Járkhi domain in Itimádpur it was at a somewhat later date increased by another Settlement Officer, Mr. Alexander.[1] In every other pargana the revenue was lowered: in Panáhat by as much as 12 and in Farah by as much as 13 per cent. The total demand was fixed at Rs. 16,22,242, or Rs. 23,685.

[1] Several of Mr. Alexander's assessments were afterwards, on account of their severity, revised and reduced.

below that of the preceding assessment. For this reduction the famine which in 1837-38 had scourged the district may have been partly responsible.

Mr. Mansel's settlement was completed and reported in 1841. Its original term of twenty years was by Act VIII. of 1846 extended up to the 1st July, 1872. During the first decade of the period thus prolonged, considerable areas were farmed or sold for arrears of revenue; during the second occurred few sales, but a good deal of farming; and during the third, both sales and farming almost disappeared. By this time, writes Mr. Evans, "owing to the increase in the value of land, and the rise in prices, and the extension of cultivation, a demand which was somewhat heavy in 1841 had become a burden easily supportable." The revenue when the settlement expired was Rs. 16,29,343, or Rs. 7,101 more than when that settlement opened. The increase was chiefly due to the resumption of revenue-free grants. Of the land thus assessed the greater part was held by one Badal Sháh, an ascetic of Gwáliár, who in lieu of the villages resumed received others of corresponding value in the Jhánsi district.

The fifth or current settlement.

Operations for the current settlement began with the demarcation of boundaries on the 1st September, 1872. The district then contained nine parganas. Of these Itimádpur, Panáhat, Fatehabad, Irádatnagar, and Farah were ultimately settled by the late Mr. W. H. Smith; Agra by Messrs. W. H. Smith and T. Benson; Fírozabad by Mr. Benson alone; and Fatehpur-Síkri and Khairágarh by Messrs. Benson and H. F. Evans. For purposes of description the processes employed will be divided as usual into (1) the survey; (2) the assumption of *rent-rates*; and (3) *the assessment of revenue.*

The survey.

The actual survey began some two months after the demarcation of boundaries, in November 1872. It was a plane-table field-to-field operation carried out, as such *settlement surveys* usually are, by the village accountants (*patwári*) acting under more or less skilled supervision. It must not be confused with scientific *revenue surveys*, of which the first and last in this district was, as already noticed, that of 1837-39. But, though the agency employed was unscientific, the work was excellent. "The maps," writes Mr. Evans, are exceedingly good and accurate, and admirable both in detail and finish." Simultaneously with the maps (*shajra*) were prepared field indices (*khasra*) and a rough record-of-rights. The tables given in the *Settlement Report* show that, for the seven tahsíls now constituting the district, the survey resulted in the following classification of area. But

it should be premised that by those tables over 41,000 acres, transferred in 1879 from Jalesar to Itimádpur, are left out of account :—

Unassessable area in acres.			Assessable area in acres						Total area in acres.
			Culturable.			*Cultivated*			
Barren.	Revenue-free.	Total.	Old or newly abandoned waste.	Groves.	Total.	Watered.	Dry.	Total.	
205,689	59,125	264,814	125,758	4,370	130,128	423,473	327,666	751,139	1,146,081

The barren area includes unculturable waste, sites of buildings, ravines, hills, roads, water, and land which has been taken up for public purposes. The total area is at page 50 of the work just quoted shown as 1,146,046 acres. But the analysis of culturable area given on the following page swells this figure by 35. Details for each tahsíl will be given in the final or topographical portion of the notice.

The assumption of rent-rates.

In commencing (1874-75) their inspection of villages, the Settlement Officers commenced also to assume those average rent-rates on which the assessment would be based. Survey returns and personal observation enabled them to divide the different tahsíls into circles corresponding with natural divisions of soil and situation, or with artificial advantages in the way of watering and manure. But, as usual amongst the people themselves, far more importance was attached to artificial than to natural distinctions. The latter are almost forgotten in a tract of ancient tillage and fairly uniform surface. In fixing rent-rates for the different soils of each circle, therefore, the settlement officer considered, not so much whether the original nature of the mould was sandy or clayey as to what extent that original nature had been improved by manuring and irrigation. The primary classification was into *gonda*, *manjha*, and *barha*, that is into highly manured, fairly manured, and rarely manured: each being subdivided into watered and unwatered.

But how were the assumed rent-rates actually determined? They were in every tahsíl avowedly based on those actually prevalent. While making minute memoranda of the physical and other features of each village, the inspecting officer noted with equal care the rents paid for each class of soil therein. Constant cross-examination of landlords, tenants and village-accountants gave him a general knowledge of the prevailing rates. The knowledge thus gained he afterwards tested by reference to the village rent-roll. "When these investigations," wrote Mr. Smith, "have been pursued in every village,

and in many holdings in each village, average rates can be deduced with tolerable confidence. Of course mathematical accuracy is out of the question, but an approximation to truth may fairly be claimed."

The process was not always, however, so simple as might on first thoughts be imagined. In many cases rents had been crystallized by village custom or by Mr. Mansel, who in 1838-41 had made landlords grant occupancy tenants leases fixing their rents, for the term of settlement, at a figure proportionate to[1] the Government demand. Thus, in some 52 per cent. of the cultivated area, the prevailing rental was behind the age, and afforded no proper criterion for assessment. On another 23½ per cent., again, the whole cultivation was in the hands of the landlords themselves; and here, except the high and abnormal rental paid by some casual tenant-at-will, there was no rental to ascertain. The foundations of rent-rate reckoning were therefore practically confined to those villages where tenants-at-will were the principal cultivators; to some 22½ per cent. of the cultivated area. But the chief difficulty was the fact that in Agra the rent is always recorded in lump for the whole holding, and not in detail for fields of varying quality. Unless, then, the entire holding consisted of that soil alone, it was hard to discover the actual rate paid for any individual soil. Fortunately, however, the holdings of tenants-at-will, which supplied as just seen the required standards, are smaller than those of other tenants. They are more often, therefore, composed of a single class of soil Fortunately, moreover, the soils which form whole holdings are the most widely distributed and important. And the letting value of other soils," writes Mr. Evans, "could be deduced by analogy without much risk of error, the relative values of the different classes of soil having been fully ascertained in the course of inspection."

From May, 1876, to November, 1878, the Board of Revenue continued to receive reports on the rent-rates assumed by the different assessing officers. The standards finally sanctioned for each tahsíl and each minor distinction of soil will be shown in the Gazetteer articles. Meanwhile it will suffice to say that the rate for *gonda* ranged from Rs. 6-0 per acre in Panáhat to Rs. 9-3 in Itimádpur and Firozabad; that of *manjha* from Rs 4-11 in Farah[2] to Rs. 6-14 in Itimádpur and Firozabad; and that of *barha* from Rs. 3-0 in South to Rs. 4-10 in North Khairágarh. Mr. Evans explains that the gonda rates are highest in Itimádpur and Firozabad, because in those tahsíls far more attention and care are bestowed on the home lands than elsewhere. South of the Jumna manure is less confined to the home-lands and more evenly

[1] *i. e.*, half as much again as. [2] *i. e.*, North Kiráoli.

distributed throughout the whole area of the village. In Panáhat we have an extreme instance of the even distribution of manure; and in Panáhat, accordingly, the gonda rates are lowest. Similar reasons are said to explain the local variations in the rates for *manjha*. On the *barha* or outlying fields, which receive least irrigation and manure, the natural composition of the soil begins to assert its importance. The outlying lands of rocky South Khairágarh are naturally sterile; and their average rental is therefore lower than that of similarly situated lands in other tahsíls. But in North Khairágarh the watered clay (*chiknot*) and unwatered loam (*dúmat*) are of an exceptionally fertile character, and raise the letting value of the barha to its highest figure.

The assessment of revenue.

Applied to the assessable area the sanctioned rent-rates gave the district a gross rental of Rs. 36,11,612. But in calculating the assets of individual villages, it was fully remembered that these rates were average standards, which in exceptional cases required reduction or enhancement; and the rental ultimately fixed as a basis of assessment was Rs. 36,09,050 only. The revenue obtained by halving that figure would be Rs. 18,04,525. But in fixing the revenue, again, some deviation from hard-and-fast standards was held advisable. In Fatehpur-Síkri the assessable area held by each proprietor averaged 23 acres; in Khairágarh, 18 acres only. In Fatehpur-Síkri, therefore, the demand was pitched at about 51, and in Khairágarh at about 49 per cent. only of the assets. In all other tahsíls the normal proportion of 50 per cent. was practically maintained. The following table compares the amount and incidence of the new demand with those of the assessment which it superseded. The articles at the end of the notice will have little space in which to deal with fiscal details, and figures are therefore given for each tahsíl—

Tahsíl.	Demand, excluding cesses.		Incidence per acre of									
			Former demand.						*New demand.*			
	Former, at close of its currency.	Now.	Assessable area.			Cultivated area.			Assessable area.			Cultivated area.		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Itimádpur ...	1,83,071	2,13,200	1	10	9	1	14	0	1	15	2	2	2	11
Firozabad ...	2,03,989	2,24,260	2	0	9	2	3	10	2	4	1	2	7	7
Panáhat ...	1,75,575	2,08,420	1	8	1	1	11	10	1	12	3	2	0	8
Fatehabad ...	1,81,168	1,96,170	1	12	4	2	0	6	1	14	8	2	3	2
Irádatnagar ...	1,85,824	2,00,740	2	0	10	2	6	1	2	3	7	2	9	2
Khairágarh ...	1,63,412	1,78,750	1	5	7	1	13	6	1	7	7	2	0	3
Agra	1,84,510	2,05,430	2	0	11	2	5	2	2	4	9	2	9	5
Farah	1,09,604	1,88,640	1	7	10	1	11	7	1	10	5	1	14	8
Fatehpur-Síkri ...	1,81,584	1,90,450	1	13	10	2	3	10	1	15	2	2	5	6
District ...	16,29,343	18,06 000	1	11	8	2	0	6	1	14	8	2	3	11

There was then a total increase of 11 per cent., the rate of enhancement descending from 19 per cent. in Panáhat to 4 per cent. in Fatehpur-Síkri. Per acre of total area the incidence of the new revenue was Re. 1-9-1. Of that revenue the figures here given show the *final*, and not always the *present*, amounts. In every tahsíl except Itimádpur, Fírozabad, and Agra, the demands were progressive (*rasadi*),[1] being designed to attain their maximum in 1883-84.

But since the completion of assessment the district has undergone the territorial changes of 1878-79. Large tracts have been transferred from Farah to Mathura and from Jalesar to Itimádpur. Fatehpur-Síkri and the remains of Farah have been amalgamated into one tahsíl named Kiráoli; Irádatnagar has been divided between Fatehabad and Khairagarh, and other internal redistributions of area have been effected. As a result, Fírozabad and Panáhat are the only tahsíls whose revenues have remained unaltered. The demands of 1883-84 will be for Itimádpur Rs. 3,09,899; for Fatehabad, Rs. 2,51,200; for Khairágarh Rs. 2,85,060; for Agra Rs. 2,28,330; for Kiráoli Rs. 2,97,960; and for the whole district Rs. 18,05,129. To this sum must be added the ten per cent. cess for roads, schools, post-offices and police; which was at settlement assessed on all land revenue-free as well as revenue-paying, and will amount to Rs. 1,87,675.[2] Per acre of total area the revenue proper will have an incidence of Re. 1-9-11.

The last assessments of the settlement just described were announced in May, 1879; but case-work and other miscellaneous business postponed the submission of the final report until the 1st April, 1880. Settlement operations had therefore lasted about 7½ years. They had cost Rs. 7,06,951, or about Rs. 580 to the 1,000 acres. Calculating roughly, Mr. Evans allots one lákh of the expenditure to the survey, three lákhs to assumption of rent-rates and assessment, and three to the preparation of the record-of-rights. The fair copies of the documents last named were begun in 1876-77 and completed in 1878-79; but something more of those documents will be said hereafter. Government has lately (1881) sanctioned the settlement for a term of 30 years, counting in each tahsíl from the date when the assessment was finally proclaimed therein. Under this arrangement Itimádpur and Fírozabad will become liable to

[1] The advantage of progressive revenues is, by Mr. Evans, concisely proved as follows:—"The first few years that follow any revision of settlement, in which the revenue is enhanced, must of necessity be the harvest for the *zamíndárs* to tide over. The sudden increase in their liabilities, with a people too much accustomed to live up to the full standard of their income, must inevitably create considerable pressure; and a revenue that will in a few years be easily borne may often at first weigh somewhat heavily. The system of progressive revenues, by which the effect of any rise in the demand is mitigated, is clearly one of much advantage." [2] Collector to Board, No. 65, dated August 25th, 1880.

re-settlement on the 10th February, 1907; Panáhat on the 2nd April, and Agra and the Irádatnagar portions of Fatehabad and Khairágarh on the 20th December in the same year; the remainder of Fatehabad on the 15th June, 1907; the Farah portion of Kiráoli on the 4th February, 1908, and the rest of that tahsíl on the 15th March, 1909; the remainder of Khairágarh on the 10th May in the same year.

Collections and instalments of land-revenue.

The following statement, compiled from the yearly reports of the Board of Revenue, gives the official account of the land-revenue collections and balances for the past ten years. The revenue or agricultural year begins, as elsewhere in the North-Western Provinces, on the 1st July :—

Year.	Demand.	Collections.	Balances.	Particulars of balance.			Centesimal proportion borne by balance to demand.
				Real.		*Nominal.*	
				In train of liquidation.	Doubtful		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1870-71 ...	16,26,595	16,26,284	311	...	78	233	...
1871-72 ...	16,30,304	16,30,129	175	...	...	175	...
1872-73 ...	16,31,748	16,31,559	189	...	...	189	...
1873-74 ...	17,83,846	17,82,919	927	...	...	927	...
1874-75 ...	19,35,691	19,33,589	2,102	...	...	2,102	...
1875-76 ...	19,34,735	19,30,351	4,384	40	...	4,344	...
1876-77 ...	19,32,661	19,26,542	6,119	3,637	...	2,482	·18
1877-78 ...	19,05,571	19,00,472	95,099	86,066	...	9,033	4·31
1878-79 ...	20,15,262	19,30,409	84,853	79,079	...	5,774	3·92
1879-80 ...	17,88,842	17,87,988	859	115	...	744	·04

Throughout the district the land-revenue falls due in three instalments (*kist*) fixed at seasons when the reaping of the different crops has replenished the landlord's exchequer. The tenant is supposed to pay his rent within fifteen days after harvest, and the landlord is allowed a further period of three weeks in which to arrange for the payment of his revenue. The bulk of the autumnal crops have been garnered by the end of October; and some five weeks later therefore, on the 6th December, becomes payable the first instalment of the land-tax. The cotton and other later autumn growths being reaped about the middle of December, the second instalment falls due on the 21st January. The end of April's second decade may be taken as the mean time when the crops of the spring harvest are cut; and the third instalment must therefore be paid on the 1st June.

The proportion borne by each instalment to the total revenue varies from tahsíl to tahsíl. In fixing these proportions it was only prudent to regard the

local variations in the quality and quantity of the principal crops. Thus in Panáhat and Fatehabad the large area under pulses and *bájra* millet renders the first autumn instalment very large. Reverse is the case of Kiráoli, where comparatively little of those crops is grown. The amount of the second instalment is more uniform, the combined area under *jodr* millet and cotton being a more constant quantity. The third or spring instalment amounts, as a rule, to seven-sixteenths of the whole; but in Kiráoli and Khairagarh, where the area under spring crops is large, rises to nine-sixteenths. For the whole district the autumnal are to the vernal instalments as 17 to 15; whereas the area under autumn crops is to the area under spring crops as 15 to 11. The difference in the two ratios arises from the necessity of distinguishing between the purposes to which the two classes of crops are put. The produce of "the fall" is required chiefly for the support of the cultivators and their cattle; the spring crops are the more available to meet the demands of rent.

Record-of-rights.

The record-of-rights compiled at settlement consisted as usual of the *khewat*, the *jamabandi*, and the *wájib-ul-arz*, registers respectively of proprietary rights, cultivating rights, and village custom. The accuracy of these documents was secured by two attestations. The first took place immediately after the survey, during which, as already mentioned, rough copies of the record had been prepared; the second after the Settlement Officer's inspection and assessment of the village. Meanwhile the rough record had been carefully compared with the papers yearly filed by the village accountant. The status of occupancy tenants is in Agra so well established that these village papers, while dealing with cultivating rights, were very fairly accurate. The real difficulty was the rectification of the khewats, which owing to the multitude of large proprietary partnerships and the carelessness of village accountants were in almost hopeless confusion. This confusion gave rise during settlement to many law-suits. Of the total number of cases (40,719) tried by the Settlement Courts, a very large proportion related to proprietary and a very small proportion to cultivating rights. The peculiarities of the land question in Agra are the absence of litigation between landlord and tenant, the frequency of disputes between proprietors possessing small shares in the same estate.

Proprietary tenures.

The proprietary tenures are those usually found in this part of India—*zamíndári* and perfect or imperfect *pattídári*. The meaning of these terms has been explained elsewhere.[1]

[1] See Gazr., II., 222.

It will here suffice to remind the reader that the owners of a zamíndári estate hold in common; those of a perfect pattidári estate in severalty; those of an imperfect pattídári estate partly in common and partly in severalty. Under the heading of imperfect pattídári, by reason of the lands which their otherwise independent owners generally hold in common, fall the numerous estates called *qabzadári* or *bhdiachára*.

Qabzadári or bhdiachára.

The peculiarity of the qabzádari property consists, however, not in the tenure of the lands held in common, but in the tenure of those held in severalty. On an ordinary pattidári estate, whether perfect or imperfect, each coparcener has a distinctly marked hereditary share in the lands, the profits and the burdens of the estate. If A., for instance, has inherited an 8 anna or half share[1] of that estate, he nominally holds half the area and pays half the revenue of the lands not owned in common. Is the quality of his half inferior to that of the other half? This does not affect his rights and liabilities. Has a river swept away his separate holding? He continues to hold a half share in the miscellaneous dues (*sáir*) of the estate, and to receive half the profits of the lands held in common. The fractional share which he has inherited is always, in the first instance, the measure of his interests and obligations. In the qabzadári tenure, on the other hand, all traces of fractional shares have disappeared. The coparcener's allotment of profits and burdens is regulated by the extent or quality of the land in his actual possession (*qabza*). That land is generally, no doubt, inherited; but the holder's status is governed by the present and not by the past, by the living customs of the brotherhood (*bhaiáchára*), and not by virtue of dead forefathers. A. may be sole representative of a great-grand uncle who held half the estate; but his rights and liabilities are defined solely by the land which he now holds himself. If the value of his holding be but a third of the value of all the lands held in severalty, he will pay a third only of the revenue due on those lands; and he will enjoy a third only of the miscellaneous dues and of the profits from the lands owned in common. His quota (*báchh*) of revenue is assessed by a council of coparceners, and is open to alteration when the character of his holding has altered. Thus, when any considerable change has occurred on the estate—when for instance the land-tax has been raised, or a large area has become fallow through drought—a general revision of the claims and

[1] The rupee being the monetary standard of the country, it is customary in most districts to express fractions of estates in fractions of the rupee. Thus an 8 anna share means a half; and a 16 anna share, though the term share is here hardly applicable, means the whole. An exactly similar notation seems to obtain in Scottish law. Thus in Thomas Carlyle's recent bequest to the University of Edinburgh occurs the phrase "the twenty shilling lands of Craigenputtock." In the Agra district fractions of the *bigha*, *biswa* and *biswánsi* (each one-twentieth of the preceding) are used by the people themselves to denote shares in an estate.

obligations of the different sharers takes place, and a fresh báchh is allotted to each.[1]

The following statement shows the distribution of the different tenures:[2]

Tahsíl.	*Zamíndári.*			*Perfect pattídári*			*Imperfect pattídári*			*Total.*	
	Number of estates.	Area.	Per cent.	Number of estates.	Area.	Per cent.	Number of estates.	Area.	Per cent.	Number of estates.	Area.
		Acres.			Acres			Acres.			Acres.
Itimádpur ...	133	69,750	34	22	27,339	17	81	80,303	49	236	177,092
Fírozabad ...	153	61,970	48	19	22,585	17	60	45,382	35	232	129,937
Panáhat ...	75	60,353	27	2	5,979	3	156	152,204	70	233	218,536
Fatehabad ...	91	56,823	37	17	11,246	7	99	86,529	56	207	154,598
Agra ...	139	54,265	41	10	13,298	10	92	66,005	49	241	133,568
Kiráoli	158	70,982	41	18	9,753	6	108	93,436	53	284	174,171
Khairágarh ...	62	39,265	20	8	5,532	3	121	153,412	77	191	198,209
District ...	809	413,408	34	96	95,732	8	719	677,271	58	1,624	1,186,411

Rather over a third of the district, then, is held in zamíndári tenure; and, by dividing what was once a pattídári into two or more zamíndári estates, "perfect" partition is constantly increasing the proportion. That proportion is locally increased in Fírozabad by the large area of the Kotila property. South of the Jumna perfect pattídári estates are very rare. Much more than half the district consists of imperfect pattídári estates, which, whenever the co-sharers are very numerous, belong to the variety called bhaiáchára. The difference in the average size of the estates held under different tenures is very great, that of a zamíndári property being 511 acres and that of a pattídári 948.[3] This difference is most striking in the North-Jumna tahsíls and Khairágarh, where the average pattídári is more than twice as large as the average zamíndári estate. In every tahsíl except Fírozabad the land-revenue falls at a lower rate on the latter than on the former. The general incidence on pattídári is Re. 1-10-2 and on zamíndári properties Re. 1-9-5 an acre.[4] "It may be confidently asserted," writes Mr. Evans, "that, *cæteris paribus*, the latter have been invariably assessed more leniently than the former; and it can only be concluded that the pattídári *maháls* (estates) still include the best portion of

[1] See further Gazr., II., 222; V., 616; and VI., 123. [2] *Settlement Report*, p. 18. But the figures for Itimádpur, and as a consequence the total figures, have been altered with the aid of Collector's letter to Board, No. 65, dated 25th August, 1880. The settlement report rarely if ever takes into account the area transferred from Jalesar to Itimádpur. [3] and [4] Collector's letter just quoted.

the district lands." But the new assessment has rendered the difference of incidence considerably less than it was before.

Ta'álluqadári tenures.

Besides the ordinary forms of tenure already noted, there exist two others, the *ta'alluqadári* and the revenue-free. On the ta'alluqadári estates, which are probably included in the above table, the zamíndár or pattidár is a *biswadár* or sub-proprietor. He is so called because he pays a rent-charge of one-twentieth (*bíswa*), that is, a revenue-charge of one-tenth, to a superior proprietor or *ta'alluqadár*. The ta'alluqadár's 10 per cent. of the land-tax is called his seigneralty (*málikáná*). It is paid to him in consideration of the fact that his ancestors exercised a sort of feudal jurisdiction over the tract in which the estate lies, and that during the earlier days of British rule he was allowed to engage for the whole revenue of that tract. The district has two considerable ta'alluqadári tenures, that of Járkhi in Itimádpur and that of Nagarchand in Fatehabad.

Járkhi,

The Járkhi domain formerly consisted of 41 villages. In 1803-04, on the introduction of British rule, the whole of this tract was farmed to the Játs Súndar and Dalíp, ancestors of the present ta'alluqadárs. But during the currency of the heavy assessments imposed in 1816-20 the grandfather of the latter, Dheri Singh, fell into arrears. His name was erased from the revenue-roll; and the domain was for a brief time made over to Dayárám Ját, the powerful castellan of Háthras.[1] Under private arrangements with that pampered chief, however, Dheri Singh's family continued in partial possession as sub-proprietors. What happened on Dayárám's bombardment and humiliation in 1817 is uncertain;[2] but, on being re-assessed under Regulation VII. of 1822, the domain was restored to Dheri Singh's son, Jugal Kishor. The re-accumulation of arrears caused before long its sequestration by Government. But, as a result of the careful inquiries which accompanied settlement under Regulation IX. of 1833, Dheri Singh's family were recognized as proprietors (*zamíndár*) of 21 villages, and as ta'alluqadárs of the remaining 20. In these latter, settlement was made with the biswadárs or sub-proprietors. In one of them the sub-proprietary rights were afterwards bought by the ta'alluqadár, who thereby became sole proprietor. And the ta'alluqadári rights now extend over 19 villages only.[3]

[1] And grandfather, by adoption, of the present Háthras rája. But for some account of Dayarám see Gazr, II., 429-33. [2] In recounting the history of the domain Mr. Smith (*Itimádpur Rent-rate Report*) seems to forget how early Dayarám's fall occurred. But his statement, that the property was made over to that chief during the term of the assessments imposed in 1816-20 (1223-27 harvest era), has been accepted. [3] One of these, Alampur, has been transferred to Firozabad. The other 18 remain in Itimádpur.

Nagarchand.

The Nagarchand ta'alluqa, formerly called Sukhi Misr's, comprises 20 villages in Fatehabad. "The character of this property," writes Mr. Mansel,[1] "though designated by the general title of ta'alluqa in the early settlements and official correspondence, is a very subordinate species to that of the Ját and Jádon chiefs of the Dúáb. Sukhi Misr was one of those men created by the circumstances of the last quarter of the last century, when the tax-contractor's success in the revenue administration depended on his power to extract the public dues from the village communities by duresse of some kind, or by engaging the services of shrewd and ready tools in managing recusant or deserted villages in farm. Sukhi Misr was a sort of inferior farmer-general. He was expected to take all villages into his own hands and manage them as productively as he could, when the tax-contractor of the season was unable to make better arrangements for realizing the public resources. For this duty the Misr received Rs. 701 personal pay and Rs. 425 for servants from the time of Najaf Khán (1776-82); and it was continued throughout the Marhatta rule (1782-1803)." He was originally a Sanádh Bráhman of Badesara in Shikohabad of Mainpuri; and, being a Bráhman, was employed as cook in the service of Kripa Rám, the officer who under Ját rule administered Fatehabad. He was promoted to the office of watching the crops in villages where the revenue was collected in kind; "and being successful," continues Mr. Mansel, "was allowed to hold a quarter of Mahrájpur in farm—a part which soon increased into a farm of the whole estate. Two or three whole villages more were given afterwards in farm, in the Ját times, to him; and so on until, under the Marhattas, the property in the end aggregated 20 villages, assessable with a revenue of from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000." But he does not seem to have held all these villages continuously. Sometimes the pargana accounts include a property in his ta'alluqa; sometimes the tax-contractor grants an advance to the original proprietors, who are thereby enabled to manage the estate themselves. Next year, again, the village is entered as part of the ta'alluqa Throughout, however, the village communities held their ground. At Mr. Ross's settlement of 1808 they were found in possession, though subordinate in a certain way to Sukhi Misr. At the settlement of 1838-41 Mr. Mansel considered that forty years' enjoyment of ta'alluqadári privileges entitled that *parvenu's* heirs to indulgence. While allowing the original owners to engage for the revenue as sub-proprietors, he finally recognized Sukhi's representatives as ta'alluqadárs of 20 villages. In many

[1] Para. 22 of his settlement report above quoted. The liberty has, however, been taken of Englishing the vernacular terms which he so freely uses.

cases, however, the seignoralty of 10 per cent. on the revenue has been transferred by sale or mortgage. Very little of this allowance is now received by the family of the original ta'alluqadár.

And other ta'alluqas.

Besides these large ta'alluqadári tenures, there exist one or two very small ones. Such are those of Ghágpura in Fatehabad and Gángni in Fírozabad. The original ta'alluqadár of Ghágpura village was Keshúrám Singh Jádon, of the Badesara family; but he himself mortgaged his rights to one Dayárám, whose representatives still enjoy the seignoralty. Gángni village was formerly held on a revenue unchangeable during his lifetime by Pítambar Singh Jádon, rája of Awa. On his death in 1846, it was settled with the former proprietors, while his successors were declared ta'alluqadárs. But these ta'alluqadárs have bought up eleven-twelfths of the sub-proprietary rights; and now, therefore, receive seignoralty on but one-twelfth of the original village. Here as elsewhere the term ta'alluqa is sometimes misapplied to large zamíndárí properties, such as those held in Fírozabad by the Jádons of Kotila and the Gújars of Anandipur.

Revenue-free tenures.

The revenue-free or *muáfi* area comprises 61,707 acres, over which are distributed 69 estates. This area divides itself into two classes: (1) lands of which the *muáfidárs* are themselves proprietors, and which therefore require no assessment; (2) lands of whose revenue the muáfidárs are merely assignees, and which have been settled with ordinary proprietors. In the case of the former class the proprietor, being himself the muáfidár, pays no revenue at all; in the case of the latter he pays a revenue which is enjoyed, not by Government, but by the muáfidár. The latter class of tenure differs from the ordinary ta'alluqa in the fact that the holder-in-chief receives the whole, and not a tithe only, of the revenue.

To the first class belong nine villages owned by the Bhadauria rája, and two estates bestowed after the Mutiny on Sir Dinkar Ráo, in Panáhat; Kolákha, Bodla, and the eight estates of the city environs (*Sawád-i-shahr*) in the Home tahsíl; Tájpur in Kiráoli, and Khankra, Saráí-Ahmad and the two estates of Jájau in Khairágarh. In Anwal-khera and Usmánpur of Itímádpur; in thirty-three estates of Panáhat; in Akola, Rohta, and Bodla-Butát of the Home tahsíl; in Birahru of Khairágarh; and in the four estates of Bharkol in Kiráoli—the muáfidárs are merely assignees of the revenue. Eleven of the thirty-three estates in Panáhat were religious endowments granted by former rájas of Bhadáwar to Bráhmans; and Bráhmans are still the assignees.

The assignee in the remaining 22, which together form 10 villages, is the rája of Bhadáwar himself. In Firozabad and Fatehabad there are no revenue-free tenures.

Jágír of the Bhadáwar raja.

The only large revenue-free property (*jágír*) is that held by the rája of Bhadáwar in Panáhat. It originally included 30 villages, of which two now belong to Mainpuri. Above has been told how in 1785 Sindia granted this domain to the widow of Rája Himmat Singh. In the possession of Himmat's descendants, though with some modification of its earlier privileges, it has ever since remained. On the British conquest of the district the grant was confirmed by General Lord Lake. In 1840 again, when rája Samait Singh died without heirs male of his body, the property was declared to devolve on his adopted son Mahendar, and was specially excluded from the operations of the land-assessment then in progress. The Government resolution[1] which announced these acts of grace estimated the yearly profits of the property at Rs. 50,000, but the actual gross income was perhaps somewhat greater.[2] The effect of this resolution was the creation of no little discontent. It had probably been hoped that, in the renewal of the original grant, the hitherto unheeded rights of the village communities would be defined and protected. The villages with which a stroke of the pen had enriched the rája were, it was complained, no more his absolute property than the many others over which, as feudal princes, his ancestors had ruled. For years the representatives of the ancient proprietors "had suffered great oppression and exaction at the hands of the rája's servants."[3] They at last made themselves heard, and in 1853 their importunity became the cause of an inquiry by Collector Martin Gubbins. The result was that of the 28 villages now in this district, 19 were settled with the representatives of the ancient proprietors and 9 only left in the absolute possession of the rája. In the former, the rája was adjudged to be merely the assignee of the Government revenue; in the latter he takes the entire assets, as being both proprietor and muáfidár. Both sets of villages were mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The proceedings of 1853 much reduced the rája's income; and in assessing tahsíl Panáhat the late Mr. Smith[4] suggested that out of the revenue of these villages that chief should be paid enough to make up the difference between his present profits and the Rs. 50,000 renewed to him in 1840. The Government of India, to whom the case was referred, has however declined to

[1] *Resolution by the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Political Department*, 27th August, 1840; Mansel's *Agra Settlement Report*, 1841, para 26; Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, art. "Bhadaurlya" [2] Mr Benson mentions that the average collections (of rent) during the preceding ten years had been Rs. 57,167 yearly. [3] Mr. Smith's *Rent-rate Report* for Panáhat, p. 16. [4] See his No. 128, dated 22nd February, 1878.

interfere with the existing arrangement.[1] Mr Smith had himself reckoned the rája's income from the revenue-free villages at Rs. 40,072. If to this we add the compensation allowance of Rs. 24,100 granted in 1809, we get, or rather the rája gets, a total of Rs. 64,172. That is no illiberal pension for a family whose misfortunes were due, not to any fault of the British Government, but to the rapacity of its predecessors.[2]

Average area of proprietary holdings.

Excluding the area transferred from Jalesar to Itimádpur in 1878—which area, however, is not large enough much to vitiate his calculations—Mr. Evans reckons that the average holding of each proprietor is 26 acres. The tahsíl averages are, Itimádpur, 37; Fírozabad, 64; Panáhat and Khairágarh, 21; Fatehabad, 32; Agra, 22; and Kiráoli, 24. The high average of Fírozabad is partly due to the presence of the great Kotila property; but in both the trans-Jumna tahsíls proprietary holdings are much larger than elsewhere. It should be explained that the figures just given tend to understate the real area of an average proprietor's lands. The chief reason of this tendency was that a proprietor, who held in more than one estate or part of an estate, was counted as often as his name appeared in the records. Roughly correcting the cause of error by the light of some statistics specially collected in the trans-Jumna tahsíls, Mr. Evans makes the average holding 33 acres instead of 26. Similarly treated, the tahsíl averages rise in Itimádpur to 46, in Fírozabad to 84, in Panáhat and Khairágarh to 27, in Fatehabad to 47, in Agra to 25, and in Kiráoli to 30. As a rule, therefore, the proprietors are according to English notions very small proprietors indeed. A vast majority pay a land-tax of less than Rs. 100 each.

Castes and tribes of landholders.

The following statement shows the number of proprietors and the area belonging to each of the principal proprietary castes or tribes:—

Caste or tribe.	Number of proprietors.	Area held in acres.	Caste or tribe.	Number of proprietors.	Area held in acres.
Rájput, true ...	12,728	337,863	Rájput, spurious ...	677	18,382
Bráhman ...	11,580	255,601	Lodha	504	6,673
Ját	7,195	101,774	Kurmi	75	4,903
Baniya	2,276	77,032	Gosáin	131	3,578
Khatri	160	69,662	Bairági	181	3,562
Káyath	876	66,300	Kahár and Malláh ...	148	3,456
Musalmán ...	1,470	57,301	Káchhi	102	1,456
Gújar	1,210	56,958	Kalál	188	1,069
Ahír	1,466	30,703	Malkána	479	5,160
Golápúrab ...	1,295	29,515	Miscellaneous ...	550	15,521
Carried over ...	40,256	1,082,209	Total ...	43,551	1,145,998[3]

[1] See that Government's No. 17R., dated February 17, 1870. [2] Rent-rate report lately quoted. The compensation allowance was mentioned above in recounting the history of the Bhadauriás. [3] Exclusive of area transferred from Jalesar to Itimádpur.

"True Rájputs," writes Mr. Evans, "own 30 per cent. of the district, though they form but 10 per cent of the population. They are in possession of nearly half as much again as the Bráhmans, who are the next most extensive landlords. The Bráhmans, too, own a larger share than is proportionate to their numbers; being proprietors over 20 per cent. of the area, while they are but 14 per cent. of the population. Játs own 10 per cent., a little more than their proportionate share. Káyaths and Baniyas, as usual, hold proprietary rights of great extent in comparison with their numbers. The same is the case with the Khatrís. Gújars are of some importance as proprietors in Firozabad and Fatehabad. Musalmáns own comparatively little except in Farah (north Kiráoli) and Agra. The most extensive of the possessions of the Bráhmans are in Panáhat. Thákurs (true Rájputs) own largely everywhere except in Agra and Kiráoli, in which two tahsíls the Játs are the chief proprietors. Baniyas hold chiefly in Panáhat, Fatehabad, and Agra; Káyaths in Kiráoli. Golápúrabs own little anywhere except in Irádatnagar (the tract skirting the banks of the Khári river). Khatris hold largely in Irádatnagar and Farah."

Leading landed families.

The leading proprietary families are the Bhadaurias of Panáhat, represented by the rája of Bhadáwar, the Játs of Járkhi in Itimádpur, and the Jádons of Kotila in Firozabad. The history of the Bhadaurias has been given above. By the Játs themselves the chief of Járkhi is dignified with the title of rája, but that title is not officially recognized. The Kotila Jádons are descended from one Ishwari Singh, who rather more than a century ago amassed a domain of 42 villages. The Jádon rája of Awa holds some land in this district, but belongs rather to the neighbouring district of Eta. Another titled landowner of Agra is Rája Sir Dinkar Ráo, K.C.S.I.; but his possessions in Agra are small. One of the largest squires in the district, though a comparatively "new man," is Bábú Bishambarnáth Khatri of Barára in the Home-tahsíl. This gentleman pays Government a land-revenue of about a lákh and a half of rupees. His father Ráo Jotiprashád was a famous and successful commissariat contractor, who acquired the Barára property from its ancient but decayed Mughal owners. The Gújars of Anandípur or Karkauli, in Firozabad, acquired their property chiefly by recent purchase or foreclosure; but have for centuries been settled in the neighbourhood, which after their tribe is called Gújargarh. Chandwár in the same tahsíl was once the ancient and historic stronghold of the Chauháns, but is now the seat of a well-to-do Mughal family. These Mughals are descended from one Muhammad Beg, who, marrying a wealthy Rájput lady (*Thakuráni*), gradually bought up estates all over the district. The Káyaths

of Nagar, a village just outside the walls of Fatehpur-Síkri, were once registrars (*kánúngo*) of the pargana in which that village and city lie. They held the office when Fatehpur-Síkri was founded; and their present head pays a land-tax of about Rs. 35,000. The Játs of Dura, in the same tahsíl of Kiráoli, are connected by marriage with the princely house of Bhartpur: the paternal aunt of their present head having married Rája Baldeo Singh. In Kiráoli, also, live the descendants of St Salím Chishti, who came hither from Persia, and was the indirect cause of the foundation of Fatehpur-Síkri.[1] The offspring of the saint's son are called *Mián-wále* or lord's-men, the offspring of his daughter *Bibí-wále* or lady's-men; and the head of the family *sijjáda-nishín* or "sitter on the praying-mat." This last title, which is usually bestowed on the priors of Muslim monasteries, here carries with it a small pension. The *sijjáda-nishíni* is now enjoyed by the Bibí-wále, the head of the male branch having proved a traitor during the Great Rebellion. The Bráhman ta'alluqadárs of Nagarchand in Fatehabad have mortgaged away so much of their original rights that they can no longer be called a leading family. The Badesara Rájputs of Iṭimádpur-Ajnera in the same tahsíl occupy a large mud castle, but they too can hardly claim much present importance. The Fakír muáfidárs of Bodla Butat in tahsíl Agra obtained that village from the Marhattas, but trace their origin to an ancestor who came from Medina in the reign of Akbar. They live at Agra; and in the same city has long been settled a family of Musalmán physicians (*hakím*) who own some estates in the Home-tahsíl. The head of this latter house is Hakím Mihr Ali. An estate or two in the same tahsíl are held by Sayyid Niyáz Ali, son of a former deputy-collector. Two or three in Fírozabad belong to the Bráhman descendants of one Rája Shiúlál, who held high office at the court of Daulat Ráo Síndia. The Chauháns of Himmatpur, a collection of families rather than a single family, still own considerable portions of their original 22 villages in Iṭimádpur. By large families or collections of families indeed, and not by single proprietors, an overwhelming majority of all estates is held. This is the natural result of the native laws of inheritance. Except when a title is attached to the property, primogeniture is unknown.

Alienations.

During the term (1841-1879) of the last assessment considerable changes took place amongst the proprietary body; a large amount of land, that is, passed into families other than those which originally owned it. Out of a total area of 1,207,726 acres, 477,554, or 40 per cent., were thus alienated. If we count more than once

[1] See Gazetteer article on that town.

the lands that were more than once transferred, these figures rise to 786,753 and 65 per cent.; but in the calculations of this and the following paragraph areas have received a single counting only. The tahsíl percentages ranged from a minimum of 33 per cent. in Firozabad and Panáhat to a maximum of 50 per cent. in North Kiráoli—in other words, from a third to a half of the area. Irádatnagar[1] (47 per cent.), Itimádpur (44), and Agra (41) exceeded the average of alienation, while South Kiráoli and Khairágarh fell below it. "The combinations," writes Mr. Evans, "are curious. North Kiráoli, almost the poorest, and Irádatnagar decidedly the best of the cis-Jumna tahsíls—the former paying nearly the lowest, and the latter nearly the highest revenue rate—appear in the same category; while Khairágarh, another poor tahsíl, and Firozabad, another of the best, are alike remarkable for the comparative smallness of the area transferred. It is clear, then, that it is not alone the fertility or otherwise of a tract that determines the extent to which proprietary rights are transferred. Nor would it appear that this extent generally varied much with variations in the rate of revenue; though there are some signs of their exercising some influence in the poorer tahsíls, Panáhat, Khairágarh, and North Kiráoli, where the incidence of the revenue on the land that has been alienated is considerably higher than on the area which has not changed hands. In the richer tahsíls, Firozabad, Irádatnagar, and Agra, the reverse is the case, and over the district as a whole there is little difference in the rates paid."

Of the 40 per cent. alienated, 17 passed by private sale, 10 by mortgage, 7 by auction under decrees of civil courts, 4 by confiscation for rebellion, 1 by auction for arrears of revenue and a small remainder by gift. The transfer by mortgage being temporary only, only 30 per cent. of the total area was permanently alienated. If we divide the term of the last assessment into three periods of about 10 years each, we shall find that the alienations, though slightly most numerous in the final period, were pretty evenly distributed amongst all three. The value of land throughout the term may be measured by the average price fetched at private sales, Rs. 7-12-0 per acre. The quotations in North Kiráoli fell considerably below that average; and in the Home-tahsíl, where the presence of a large city raises the figures, rose considerably above it. But in the other tahsíls the price varied within very narrow limits. More important, perhaps, than the average price throughout the term is the fact that throughout that term the value of land steadily increased. During the third or final period the purchase rate for the district at large was Rs. 11-4 per acre. From

Price of land.

[1] Now divided between Fatehabad and Khairágarh.

an English point of view the price still seems ridiculously low. But it must be remembered that in Northern India estates are sold subject in the first place to the great land-revenue demand of the State, and in the second place to the subordinate interests of tenants who have acquired rights of occupancy. Both these liabilities limit very greatly the value of the landholder's *status;* and any comparison between the price of land thus depreciated and the price of land elsewhere would be fallacious. Another noteworthy fact is how slightly the rate at which land is sold outright rises above the rate at which it is mortgaged. But the mortgagee usually steps into possession at once; and the Indian usufructuary (*bhogbandhak*) mortgage is indeed nothing less than a sale in which the seller reserves rights of pre-emption. The lowest prices of all were at forced sales in execution of decree or in defrayment of arrears of revenue.

But the change which the transfers just discussed wrought in the composition of the proprietary body will be better realized by noting their result amongst the different castes and tribes. The following statement shows the increase or decrease which, during the term of the last assessment, took place in the areas held by the principal proprietary races :—

Caste or tribe.	*Percentage of district area held*		Increase.	Decrease.
	At last assessment.	At assessment now current.		
Bráhman	17	21	4	...
Rájput (true)	36	30	...	6
Ját	11	10	...	1
Baniya	6	7	1	...
Káyath	5	6	1	...
Ahír	3	2	...	1
Kurmi	A fraction	A fraction	None	None
Khatrí	Ditto	6	5 and a fraction	...
Gújar	5·5	5	...	·5
Golápúrab	2 5	3	·5	...
Rájput (spurious)	2	2	None	None
Musalmán	6	5	...	1
European	3	A fraction	...	2 and a fraction
Lodha	1	Ditto	...	A fraction
Gosáin	A fraction	Ditto	None	None
Miscellaneous	1	1	Do.	Do.
Total ...	100·0	100·0	...	...

The usual phenomenon, the diminution of the land held by the old cultivating communities, is as marked here as elsewhere. Rájputs true and spurious, Játs, Ahírs, Gújars, the Musalmán Malkánas and Mewátis, have all lost areas

large in comparison with their original possessions, if not areas actually great. About a quarter of the loss sustained by true Rájputs was due to confiscations for rebellion in 1857-58. On the same account was forfeited much of the land held by spurious Rájputs and Gújars. The European proprietors, who in North Kiráoli alone formerly held 15,000 acres, have almost entirely disappeared. The estates owned by Mr Wright in tahsíl Agra were bought by Ráo Jotiprashád, to whose purchases the increase of the Khatri possessions were chiefly due. The same capitalist acquired another property of some 12,000 acres from one Ráo Patni Mal Baniya; but in spite of this loss the Baniyas have managed to widen their ground. After the Khatris, whose case is exceptional, the next greatest gainers are the Bráhmans, who almost always succeed in augmenting their domains. Káyaths also have made considerable way. But, notwithstanding all these changes, true Rájputs continue to be the most extensive landholders. They and the Bráhmans still hold over half the district, and little under what they together held forty years ago. The gains and losses of other races, however great in proportion to their share in the district, affect comparatively small fractions of that district as a whole.

Details for each tahsíl are hardly needed. Neither have the gainers everywhere gained, nor the losers everywhere lost. Thus in Fatehabad the Bráhmans effected no advance; while in South Kiráoli, where General Richards gave his estates to a favourite Muhammadan servant, the possessions of the Musalmáns were extended. But of landlords enough has been said. We pass from the *khewat* to the *jamabandi*, from proprietary to cultivating rights.

Cultivating tenures.

The cultivating tenures are practically limited to three. There is the cultivating landlord, whose home-farm is both officially and popularly styled *sír*. There is the tenant with rights of occupancy, who, as those rights can be transferred by inheritance only, is popularly called *maurúsi* or hereditary. And there is the *ghair-maurúsi* or non-hereditary cultivator, who, as he holds from year to year only, is officially designated the tenant-at-will. The ex-proprietary tenant, the former proprietor who is allowed to retain rights of occupancy in his former home-farm, was created in 1873 only.[1] He as yet holds only ·2 per cent. of the cultivated area, and may therefore be merged in the great mass of occupancy tenants. A fifth and last class of tenant, the rent-free holder, occupies but 2 per cent. of that area, and he, too, need not be further noticed. The

[1] By the Rent Act (XVIII) of that year. This Act has been repealed by the new Rent Act (XII) of 1881, which, however, maintains the principal provisions of its predecessor.

following table distributes the cultivated area amongst the first three classes only :—

Tahsíl	*Proprietors.*		*Occupancy tenants.*		*Tenants-at-will.*	
	Percentage of cultivated area.	Average home farm	Percentage of cultivated area.	Average tenant-right holding.	Percentage of cultivated area.	Average holding.
		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.
Itimádpur ...	21·6	13 0	55 5	15·4	21·3	10 7
Firozabad ...	9 5	10 0	68 0	10 9	23 0	9·1
Panáhat ...	23 0	6 0	52 3	6·2	22·1	6 0
Agra ...	29 0	9·4	53 6	6·6	15 7	4·5
Fatehabad, East ...	19·8	11·9	57·0	8 8	21·7	5 9
Fatehabad, West, and Kharágarh, East (Irádatnagar) ...	22·8	13·6	56 2	8·1	19·2	5·7
Kharágarh, West ...	29·7	8·4	39·7	4·6	28·5	4·3
Kiraoli, North (Farah) ..	24·4	11·4	51 2	7·1	22·7	4·3
Kiráoli, Mid and South...	33 2	11·3	42·5	6 3	22 2	4·4
District ...	23 5	9·7	52·1	7 7	22·4	6 0

Cultivating proprietors.

Since 1841 the area tilled by proprietors themselves has shrunk from 36·5 to 23·5 of the total cultivated acreage. To some extent the decrease is only nominal, due to a more accurate system of record. But there has also been a very real decrease, due (1) to the transfer of proprietary rights to non-resident and non-cultivating owners; (2) to the increasing population and increasing competition for land, which have rendered it profitable for the proprietor to let more land, to till less land himself. The increase in the area held by tenants-at-will—from 11·8 to 28·4 per cent.—has of course kept pace with the decrease in the home-farm area. It is the result of the same economic causes.

Occupancy tenants.

The "hereditary cultivator" acquires his rights of occupancy by 12 years' continuous cultivation of the land in which those rights accrue, and from that land he cannot be ejected so long as he pays his officially recognized rent. The table just given shows that the area held by such tenants amounts to more than half the total cultivation of the district—having increased since 1841 from 51·7 to 52·1 per cent. The increase has nowhere been great; and in the trans-Jumna

tahsíls the tenant-right area has actually diminished. The reason is perhaps explained by the following passage in Mr. Benson's Firozabad rent-rate report:—

"The decrease in occupancy tenancy and the corresponding increase in tenancy-at-will is remarkable No doubt, now that the legal consequences of a right of occupancy are so clearly defined, landlords are much more careful as to admitting any claim to occupancy rights; and strictly contest all claims, even where the tenants are old resident cultivators, if they can discover a flaw in title on succession. The enactment of a strict legal code merely destroys all the mutual trust and good faith formerly existing between landlord and tenant; causes increased litigation and embitters feeling; and, judging from results, has not improved the tenants' position as a body. At last settlement, in the Kotila ta'alluka 91 per cent. of the tenants were recorded as *maurúsi* and 8 per cent. *ghairmaurúsi*. At the present time the proportions are far different, the zamíndár being powerful and having taken every means in his power to prevent the growth of rights of occupancy under Act X. of 1859."

In most tahsíls, however, the accretion of occupancy rights has given rise to little litigation or ill-will between landlord and tenant. The question is not, as in Alígarh, a burning question. In Panáhat, where the area subject to tenant right had largely increased, it was at assessment reported that "the struggle between proprietor and tenant has had no existence. The two parties are on thoroughly good terms, and the attestation of the new records gave rise to few disputes."

Tenants-at-will.

How often indeed the tenant-at-will is allowed to hold on and acquire rights of occupancy is rather surprising than otherwise. Inquiries in equal areas of four tahsíls showed Mr. Evans that not much more than half the holdings occupied by individual tenants-at-will in 1853 had been lost by them. In the remaining holdings occupancy rights had been acquired under the Rent Act (X.) of 1859, which first legalized those rights. But the security of occupancy tenants whom custom had always recognized as such had of course been much greater. The same investigations proved that during the same period about a quarter only of their original holdings had passed from individual members of this class.

Average size of cultivator's holdings.

The table last given shows the average area held by each kind of cultivator. But in noting that the average home-farm of a cultivating proprietor is 9·7 acres, it must not be forgotten that he often tills also, as a tenant with or without rights of occupancy, land belonging to another. Including such land, his average holding amounts to 11·7 acres. In the same manner the tenant with rights of occupancy often cultivates fields over which he has not those rights; and, this fact considered, his total holding is 8·1 acres. One important result of the table is to prove the great difference of peasant prosperity in different tahsíls.

Itimádpur is on the whole a more fertile tract than Khairágarh; and the occupancy tenant of the former with a holding of over 15 acres must be better off than he of Khairágarh with a holding of less than five.

Castes and tribes of cultivators.

From the classes of cultivators we turn to their races. The following synopsis shows the area tilled by each of the chief cultivating castes and tribes. In that area are included the holdings of cultivating landlords as well as of tenants :—

Caste or tribe.	Average cultivated.	Percentage of total cultivated area.	Caste or tribe.	Average cultivated.	Percentage of total cultivated area.
Bráhman ...	165,118	19·6	Ahír ...	37,045	4·4
Golápúrab ...	14,366	1·7	Malláh ...	28,267	3·3
Rájputs, true ...	182,403	21·6	Káchhi ...	32,398	3·8
Baniya ...	20,723	2·4	Gadariya ...	19,043	2·2
Káyath ...	9,709	1·2	Rájputs, spurious ...	11,433	1·4
Ját ...	120,485	14·2	Kirár ...	2,047	0·2
Gújar ...	24,432	3·0	Malkána ...	10,032	1·2
Chamár ...	60,286	7·1	Musalmáns ...	13,178	1·5
Lodha ...	23,486	2·8	Miscellaneous ...	64,80[7]	8·4
			Total ...	840,158	100·0

The principal cultivating races, then, are true Rájputs, Bráhmans and Játs. The first till more than one-fifth of the whole cultivated area, though, as before remarked, they form but one-tenth of the total population. They are the most extensive cultivators in every tahsíl except Agra and Kiráoli, where their place is taken by the Játs. In every tahsíl the extent of Bráhman holdings is remarkable, but is most remarkable in Panáhat. Like Rájputs, Játs cultivate twice the amount of land that one would expect from their numbers. They are but 7 per cent. of the population, and they till 14 per cent. of the cultivated area. Amongst minor cultivating castes, the Chamárs occupy a position the reverse of that occupied by true Rájputs and Játs. They till but 7 per cent. of the cultivated area, and they form 16 per cent. of the population. Káchhi and Ahír husbandmen are most numerous in Khairágarh and the trans-Jumna tahsíls respectively. Along the banks of the Jumna, in the latter tract, are found most of the Malláh cultivators. Gújars are important only in Fatehabad and Khairágarh, Malkana Musalmáns only in North Kiráoli. Golápúrabs are almost confined to the tract skirting the banks of the Khári river; Kirárs altogether confined to Khairágarh.

Rents.

There is no universally recognized custom under which certain castes pay lower rents than others. The average rate paid by true Rájputs undoubtedly falls below that paid by other tenants. But this arises chiefly from the fact that, like the Rájput *rak-mis* of Bareilly,[1] these Rájputs are mostly kinsmen or tribal brethren of the proprietors under whom they hold. They may again be ex-proprietary tenants, holding their former home-farm at the privileged rates sanctioned by law. But when true Rájputs cultivate side by side with some other race, neither being favoured by any accident of tribal or family relationship, there is no tendency to allow the former class any reduction of rent. The only caste that does always seem to pay high rates is the Káchhi, which, except in Khairágarh, pays much higher rates than any other; but it must be remembered that Káchhis, being market-gardeners, generally confine themselves to the better kinds of land. No other class, moreover, can complain of exceptionally high rents. The Golápúrabs, who pay higher than any other caste in Panáhat, pay in Western Fatehabad and Eastern Kharágarh little more than the true Rájputs. Káyaths generally hold at very low rates, but in North Kuáoli hold at the highest Bráhmans oftener than not pay rather below the average, yet in Fatehabad they pay higher than any cultivators, except Káchhis and Gadariyas. Baniyas generally, and Chamárs nearly always, pay above the tahsíl average; but "generally" and "nearly always" do not mean universally. Mallâhs are lightly rented because the lands which they cultivate are of the poorest and most ravine description.

Their usual rates.

Rents are here paid in money, not in kind. Should payment ever chance to be made in kind, the amount of produce rendered to the landlord is equal in value, at the prices then current, to the recorded money rental. He does not, as in parts of some other districts, take a fixed share of the crop; and his profits do not therefore fluctuate with the rise or fall of prices, with the fulness or deficiency of the crop itself. The average rate paid throughout the district by occupancy tenants is Rs. 3-12-9 an acre, or about Rs. 2-2-2 a bígha. But, though a vast majority of tenants are occupancy tenants, the rents paid by this class are hardly a fair specimen of general letting-value. They are not settled by competition or even by custom. For the whole term of the last assessment they were fixed by lease; and during that whole term, therefore, were prevented from rising in proportion to any increase in the value of the land. They still cannot be enhanced except at intervals of ten years; and are still 11 per cent. lower than the rents paid by tenants-at-will. The rents paid by tenants-at-will,

[1] See Gazetteer, V., 622.

though in their case also competition is far from having ousted custom, may be considered a fairer standard. The following table compares these with the general rate paid by all tenants, and with the rate assumed as a basis for the current land assessment :—

Tahsíl.	General rent-rate of all tenants, whether occupancy tenants or tenants-at-will.	Rent-rate paid by tenants-at-will only.	Rent-rate assumed as a basis for the current assessment.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Itimádpur	3 10 11	4 2 2	4 5 7
Firozabad	4 3 10	4 13 5	5 0 0
Panáhat	3 14 10	4 5 3	4 3 0
Agra	4 5 9	4 13 11	5 2 2
Fatehabad, East	3 8 6	3 11 9	4 6 4
Fatehabad, West, and Khairágarh, East (Irádatnagar)	4 7 1	4 13 9	5 2 10
Khairágarh, West	3 10 0	3 13 1	4 2 4
Kiráoli, North (Farah)	3 5 1	3 7 3	3 12 3
Kiráoli, Mid and South	4 2 6	4 5 1	4 8 9
District ...	3 11 0	4 3 4	47 1 0

But, if the rate paid by tenants-at will is a fairer specimen of general letting-value than the rate paid by occupancy tenants, the rate assumed as a basis for the current assessment is a fairer specimen than either. The averages of the two former rates were lowered by the fact that over the bulk of the district a rise of rent had been impeded by restrictions of custom or lease. But the inspection of the assessing officers enabled them to ascertain the rates actually paid where no such restrictions existed. In some tahsíls, again, they found reason to doubt the accuracy of the records from which the average tenant rent-rates had been calculated. These records represented that the rate paid by tenants-at-will had since the beginning of the last assessment-term risen by 32 per cent. only. Their own inquiries led the assessing officers to assume that the actual increase had been 42 per cent.

Enhancements.

To the rates assumed at assessment all rents have approximated or must before long approximate. Two thousand six hundred and thirty-four suits for enhancement of rent were, during assessment itself, decided by the Settlement Courts; and in writing that these suits referred to some 360,000 fields Mr. Evans thinks that he is under the mark. He believes that there is much to be said in favour of the plan adopted at the preceding assessment, and of granting occupancy tenants leases exempting them from enhancement within the term for which the land revenue is fixed.

Condition of the agricultural classes.

If the rent of land must be paid to the landlord, the rent of money, commonly called interest, must often be paid to another village magnate. The majority of cultivators are

indebted to the local grain-dealer, who is also the local usurer. Statistics collected at settlement in the four tahsíls of Itimádpur, Firozabad, Agra, and Kiráoli, showed that 78 per cent. of the tenantry were thus embarassed. Only 22 per cent. could be called free from debt. But estates are so often comminuted amongst a host of cousins that the petty cultivating proprietor is often just as much involved as the tenant. The operations of the money-lending grain-dealer are not altogether so baneful as is commonly supposed. To him, perhaps, is handed over at harvest the whole crop of some hopelessly indebted peasant. But he will lend that peasant seed for the next crop, and supply him with food until the next harvest. The debtor, it may be added, is not always hopelessly indebted. He has perhaps merely borrowed enough money to buy a new pair of plough-bullocks; and in lending him that money the usurer has once more performed an useful function.

In discussing the indebtedness of the Agra cultivator able and independent witnesses strike much the same note as has been struck in preceding district notices. Indebtedness, writes the late Mr. W. H. Smith, "has been the condition of the cultivator from time immemorial. It is only the few who will accumulate. The residue, if they are well-housed and clothed and have enough to live on and marry their children, are content to remain in debt all their lives. It does not by any means follow that their condition is a wretched one. When free from rack-renting, with only an occasional bad season and the prices of the last ten or fifteen years prevailing, they can draw on their banker without hindrance for all ordinary wants and even occasional luxuries. This is the position of the great bulk of the cultivators here; and if not an altogether satisfactory one, it does not entail much anxiety or discomfort. It is difficult to say as much of the mere *mazdúr* or unskilled labourers. These classes have their opportunity in and about Agra, where railways, canals, and other works offer fair wages. Those members of the family who care to seek for work can mostly obtain it not far off on good pay. Those who are left in the villages are certainly very poor; their work is almost wholly agricultural, and they are chiefly paid in kind, getting just about enough to eat and the scantiest clothing."

This was written of Itimádpur; and the truth of Mr. Smith's remarks is confirmed by what Mr. Benson writes of the adjoining Firozabad: "The general indebtedness of the cultivator is a subject much dwelt on. In this tahsíl only 25 per cent. of the lands are farmed by farmers working with their own capital. It is impossible to farm without capital: the holders of capital are not by profession agriculturists, and neither custom, capacity, nor inclination warrants their undertaking farming on their own account through the medium of

hired labour. *Per contra*, there is a large class by habit and education agriculturists, ready to undertake the tillage of the soil, but lacking the necessary capital. Hence the vast extent of farming carried on by borrowed capital. As the farmers are all small men and can offer nothing but personal security, they have to pay an exorbitant rate of interest. That it is the want of security that causes the high rate of interest is strikingly exemplified by the fact that if a tenant takes an advance of cash to pay his rent when the crops are ripe, he pays one anna per rupee per mensem as interest, or 75 per cent. per annum. This is double the ordinary rate, half an anna in the rupee, which in itself seems high enough. Nevertheless, I do not think that the cultivators are, on the whole, in a bad condition, or that a family of six persons, of whom two at least are minors, are badly supported on a holding of ten acres, for which they pay, say, Rs. 50 per annum. Extreme cases of rack-renting show that it is possible for them to pay Rs. 70 or 80, and yet carry on; so that they cannot be held to be in miserable circumstances."

But in the bulk of the district their condition is perhaps less satisfactory. Thus in Fatehabad "only 11 per cent. of the cultivating body are found to be clear of the village banker's books, and 89 per cent are in debt. One reason appears to be that in Fatehabad the village bankers are also proprietors in much larger numbers than is elsewhere the case. These men have the cultivators more completely in their toils than would be possible if they were unconnected with the land." In the Agra tahsíl may be noticed a considerable contrast between the condition of the agricultural and the non-agricultural population. In his assessment report Mr. Benson writes: "A great mass of the village population have been returned as non-agriculturists who are closely allied to the agricultural population, but whom the neighbourhood of a great city supplies with work and a means of livelihood. The canal and railway works have called for a great deal of labour of late years; and to a certain extent public works must be always going on. The present condition of this large section of the community is fairly prosperous. They can never be very well off, and have little but rags to cover them and enough grain to keep them from starvation; but this they have. In the end, however, they must come back on the soil; and any local distress, any famine of labour (let alone a famine of food), would be severely felt. Of the population living by agricultural pursuits the condition is better, and in many cases they show a good deal of prosperity." The famine of 1877-78 has amply proved the truth of Mr. Benson's remarks on the semi-agricultural population. The barrier between that population and hunger is never so great that a season of drought cannot remove it.

Wages.

That a large section of the agriculturists should eke out their livelihood by non-agricultural labour is inevitable. The average size of cultivator's holdings is eight acres. But we have seen that in several tahsils the holding of the tenant-at-will, and in Khairágarh the holding of the occupancy-tenant, measures less than five; and a holding of five acres perhaps yields its cultivator an income of from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 a month. In the first instance, before going abroad to seek employment on the road or the canal, the petty husbandman will probably look out for purely agricultural work; and of this, in his own neighbourhood, there is always a certain amount to be found. Some landlords retain field-labourers from year's end to year's end, paying them Rs. 3 a month. This too is the wage of persons employed as watchmen over the crops, and sometimes of those employed in irrigation. But for the work last-named 2 annas a day is not an unusual rate. From 1¾ to 2 annas are sometimes paid for weeding and such-like operations.

Field labourers are more commonly, however, paid in grain. They receive from 2 to 2½ *sers* daily of the coarser cereals or millets, such as barley or *jodr*. At harvest payment in kind seems the invariable rule. The reaper is allowed to carry off a certain quantity of the crop, including stalk and leaves as well as grain. He receives in this way some 3 to 5 sers daily. In harvest labour and in weeding women and children, especially the former, are largely employed. As a rule women receive three-quarters, and children a half, of the wages allowed to men. In gleaning women alone are employed, and are repaid by the permission of retaining one-third of their gleanings.

By the following table the average daily wages now paid to certain classes of labourers are compared with those paid to the same classes in 1871-72 and 1850:[1]—

Class of labourer.	*Average daily wages of year.*		
	1850.	1871-72.	1881-82.
Navvies and porters	At Agra itself, annas 2	Annas 2½	Annas 3.
	Elsewhere in the district, annas 1 to 1½,	Annas 1¾ to 2	Annas 2.
Field labourers	If paid in cash, the same as the class last named.	...	Annas 2.
	If paid in kind, at autumn harvest, sers 4,	Sers 3	Sers 1½ to 1¾.
	At spring harvest, sers 5	Sers 3½	Sers 2½.
Smiths ..	Annas 2 to 3	At Agra itself, annas 6 to 7; elsewhere in the district annas 3 to 4.	In Agra 5 to 7 annas, in district 3 to 4 annas
Bricklayers, Carpenters ...	Annas 2 to 3	Annas 3 to 4	From 3 to 4 annas.
	Annas 2 to 3	At Agra itself, annas 5½ to 8 .. Elsewhere in the district, annas 3 to 4.	In Agra 6 annas and upwards. Annas 4.

[1] The statistics for 1850 and 1871-72 were kindly supplied by Mr. Benson; those for 1881-82 by the Magistrate-Collector. No particulars as to the wages paid in this district are given by Mr. Plowden's memorandum (1871) on the *Wages and Prices* of the provinces.

In many employments work is paid for by the piece, and daily remuneration is unknown. The wages of 1850 prevailed for some years later; and the rise is generally said to have taken place after the rebellion of 1857-58. This rise was in the case of navvies and porters partly due to the newly-created demand for labour on railways and canals; but must in most cases be ascribed chiefly to a corresponding increase in the price of food-grains. That prices have risen since 1860, and that from 1812 to 1860 they had remained almost stationary, is easily proved. Witness these figures,[1] showing what average weight of the principal grains was in successive decades purchasable for one rupee:—

	Joár.			*Bájra.*			*Wheat.*			*Barley.*			*Gram.*			*Remarks.*	
	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Lowest.	Highest.	Average	Lowest	Highest	Average.	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Years of plenty.	Years of scarcity.
	Sers	Sers	Sers	Sers	Sers	Sers	Sers.	Sers	Sers	Sers	Sers.	Sers.	Sers	Sers.	Sers.		
1812-1820	58	19	34	53	20	33	42	17	27	62	22	37	48	19	31	...	...
1821-1830	46	24	35	45	24	34	30	20	28	52	26	40	50	24	37	1815	1819-20
1831-1840	37	20	32	38	19	30	34	14	26	46	16	35	47	14	33	1829	1826
1841-1850	35	30	42	30	35	41	35	27	31	30	20	41	40	29	36	1832	1838
1851-1860	52	15	40	50	15	37	30	20	30	54	27	41	50	20	41	1850	1841-42
1861-1870	35	15	26	34	13	24	29	11	18	38	16	26	33	11	23	1851-52	1854-59
1871-1876	29	20	24	29	17	22	25	16	19	33	23	27	32	20	25	1862-63	1869

The average prices for the decade 1861-70 rose, then, little short of 50 per cent. above those for the preceding ten years. The reality of the increase is shown by the fact that it affected alike all classes of produce. The argument that at a certain period of the decade prices were inflated by a year of scarcity (1862-63) is immaterial; for, as shown in the last columns of the table, such years have occurred in every decade. Nor, since 1870, have the quotations shown any tendency to resume their former level. The average prices of 1880 were, *joár* 24 sers 10 chittaks for the rupee; *bájra* 24 sers 7½ chittaks; wheat 18 sers 15 chittaks; barley 21 sers; and gram 22 sers 8 chittaks.

Money-lending and interest.

Connected with the subject of grain-prices is that of grain-loans, which as usual are about the commonest form of investment for capital. But the various systems of grain-dealing

From Mr. Evans's Settlement Report.

differ little from those already described at length in the Farukhabad notice,[1] and therefore need not detain us. We turn to money-lending. In small transactions, when merely personal security is given, the rate of interest ranges from 1 to 3¼ per cent. a month, or from 12 to 37½ per cent. a year. Eighteen or 20 per cent. per annum may be fixed as the average figure. When cheap articles are pawned, the sum advanced represents about three-quarters of their value. The interest varies from ½ to 1¼ per cent. monthly, or from 6 to 15 per cent. yearly; and 9 or 10½ per cent. yearly may be taken as the average. When land is mortgaged the rate is almost as high, rising from 7½ to 30 per cent., and averaging 12. But it is more usual for the mortgagee to take immediate possession of the land, to enjoy its profits and to ask no other interest. In those large transactions, writes Mr. Tupp,[2] where jewels or other valuable moveable property is pledged, the interest falls from 12 to 6 per cent. only; and when bankers lend money to bankers on personal security as little as from 7½ to 9 per cent. is asked. When agriculturists borrow by hypothecation of their standing crop, the rate is from 2 to 4 per cent. monthly, that is from 24 to 48 per cent. a year. But it has in some such cases been known to reach 37½ and even 50 per cent.

At Agra are several large native banking establishments; but in the country the money-lending business is almost monopolized by the village grain-dealers. In spite of many bad debts, such persons manage to accumulate money; but their gains are rapidly reinvested in land or loans, and Mr. Benson would discover no evidence of hoarding. He remarks that 6 per cent. yearly seems considered a fair return for money invested in land, but adds that in buying an estate the purchaser often looks forward to the supplementary profits derived from farming a part of that estate himself.

Manufactures.

The amount of capital invested in manufactures bears a ridiculously small proportion to the amount which could, and according to European notions should, be so invested. The industries of the district are for the most part of the usual primitive and limited type. Almost every village has humble artificers who minister to its simple wants: the potter and the weaver, the smith, the carpenter and the dresser of hides. In towns members of the Chhípí caste still maintain a struggling existence by printing rough devices on cloth; while a flourishing trade is plied by the shoemakers and the manufacturers of metal vessels. The district makes a little indigo and refines a little sugar. Cotton is pressed in some 30 or 40 screws.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 124-25. [2] Agra article, *Imperial Gazetteer*. The authority for the other statements of this paragraph is Mr. Benson.

It has been reckoned by an European firm[1] engaged in this industry that a pair of screws can turn out 44 bales a day; but, even at the busiest time of the year, the local screws are seldom all working at once. Amongst other industries introduced or supervised by European agency we must not forget to mention those connected with the railways and other engineering works; the carpets and other textile fabrics of the prisons; the various handicrafts of the Sikándra Orphanage and similar establishments; with the printing in the *Dehli Gazette* and other presses.

Stonework of Agra. The Mosaic or Indian *pietra dura*.

The rough stone-manufactures of tahsíls Khairágarh and Kiráolí have been noticed above.[2] But in Agra city flourish two far finer and more artistic forms of stonework, which in other parts of the North-Western Provinces are almost or quite unknown. These are, firstly, the inlaying or Mosaic (*munabbat*) which Mr. Keene[3] proposes to style Indian *pietra dura*; and secondly, the rich fretwork, or, as the natives themselves call it, network (*jáli*), in marble and other material. Writing of the first Mr. Keene remarks that Mosaic, according to Sir D. Brewster, is "the art of producing artistic designs by setting small squares of stone or glass of different colours, so as to give the effect of painting." Hindústáni inlaying is, however, produced, not by tesselation, but by the insertion of large masses of jewel into blocks of white marble, so as to form geometrical patterns rather than pictorial designs. It resembles the *pietra dura* of Florence, which (again to quote Brewster) "consists of irregular portions of hard stones, containing the gradation of colours in each, instead of obtaining that gradation by the union of multiplied fragments." The method of manufacture is by Mr. Keene described thus:—

"The master-workman traces with delicate exactness a pencil outline of the design to be produced upon a slab of the whitest Jaipur marble. The slab is then handed over to one craftsman, and a collection of jewels to another. The chief jewels used are agate, cornelian, jasper, bloodstone, lapis lazuli and turquoise. Each piece has its bed prepared on the master's tracing on the surface of the slab, while it is shaped by the associated workman. As each piece is ready, it is handed to the inlayer, who fits it into its place with a cement of white lime. It is then covered with a small piece of glass, over which is laid a fragment of burning charcoal. When the annealing process is complete, the glass is removed; and when the whole design has been inlaid in this manner, the surface is rubbed over with a polishing powder, and the work is ready. When the cutter and the inlayer have done their respective offices with due skill, no trace of the annealing is perceptible. In second-class work a small rim of cement may always be detected by its greater whiteness, separating the precious stone from the bed of marble.

[1] Messrs. Beer, Reinhold and Co. [2] Pp. 466-68. [3] *Hand-book to Agra*, from which (pp. 113-20) the following account of the Agra stone manufactures has been abbreviated.

"As to the uses of this art, it is essentially architectural. The jambs of great portals in a Mughal tomb, the pillars of a palace-hall, should have their borders of bold arabesque. The panels of the interior admit of the more delicate floral tracery of the later school. But this, the original and legitimate application of the art, is in abeyance. Europeans are too unsettled, and the wealthy natives too negligent, to allow of their dwellings being beautified by the costly method. The patient workmen, therefore, have turned their attention to making smaller specimens of their art, which is now chiefly confined to tables, inkstands, trays, plates and paper-weights. The time required to mature even these comparatively unimportant works is still considerable, and the prices commanded are not small. An average table will take two men from six to twelve months to complete; and, when the value of the materials is taken into consideration, will not perhaps appear too expensive at a cost of from £30 to £100, according, of course, to the amount of labour and material."

Though still practised with indifferent success by a few Musalmáns, the craft is chiefly in the hands of Hindús. For two of the latter their work has obtained honourable mention and medals at exhibitions in both Europe and India. But the Hindu is docile and receptive; and his art is in some danger of being corrupted by contact with European "practical science," that is, with European Philistinism. So far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century the severe geometrical symmetry of the earlier inlaid work was relaxed; and, copied probably from unconventional European models, the forms of flowers, butterflies and birds began to appear on the marble. Further degenerations into a mongrel and rococo style are perhaps to be dreaded to-day.

Fretwork in marble and sandstone.

The second characteristic stone industry of Agra and its neighbourhood is the fretwork in marble and other material. The *jáli* of Upper India differs as much from that of Gujarát and the Dakkhan, writes Mr. Keene, as point-lace differs from Honiton flowers. The northern carvings are in fact more geometrical and less flowing. Work of this kind was, according to Fergusson, the invention of the Musalmáns, who in the desire to enrich their buildings with sculpture could have no recourse to statues. Their religion tells them that the graver of images will on the day of judgment be commanded to inspire his handwork with life. But geometrical, and perhaps even arboreal, designs were harmless, and their employment gave rise to a new and beautiful form of window tracery.

"In northern India the use of some material that should, like glass, afford protection from weather, while, unlike glass, it admitted of free ventilation, led to a great elaboration of the last, or window-tracery class. Almost all the Pathán and Mughal buildings are full of these minute yet everlasting pieces of fretwork. The marble screens that go on all four sides of the open chamber on the summit of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra are as fresh as when first executed more than two hundred and sixty years ago; and each screen contains twelve panels (except where a panel in the centre has been left open for the view), and there are three different patterns of panel in each screen. The upper chamber of I'timád-ud-daula's tomb is all

lace-work of the same kind. And the fort and Táj have also elaborate examples of this work, one panel in the screen round the cenotaphs in the latter being carved out of a single slab of marble over six feet high.

"But all the marble-work of this region is surpassed by the monument which Akbar erected over the remains of his friend and spiritual counsellor Shaikh Salím Chishti at Fatehpur Síkri (1581 A.D.) In the north-west angle of the vast court-yard, 433 feet by 366 feet, is a pavilion externally of white marble: surrounded by a deep projecting dripstone, of white marble also, supported by marble shafts crowned by most fantastic brackets, shaped like the letter S. The outer screens are so minutely pierced that they actually look like lace at a little distance, and illuminate the mortuary chamber within with a solemn half-light which resembles nothing else that I have seen. The whole of this elaborate work, including the strange but most pleasing design of the brackets, appears to have been produced by the resident stone-cutters of the place, uneducated men earning probably an average wages of about a penny a day. I believe that no instance of such pure patient workmanship, so dignified yet so various, is to be found in the world.

"The sandstone *jáli* is used sometimes in the interior of apartments, such as the female galleries, from which, as in our House of Commons, the ladies could look down on the meetings of men in halls below. But more commonly the work occurs in balustrades and parapets, where it has a fine effect. This stone comes from the Fatehpur quarries, or from Bhartpur; the white marble from Makrána in the Jodhpur territories. The difference both in the cost of material and labour is very great. A small slab of marble carving of this kind will cost £10, while one of sandstone can be obtained for one-tenth of the price.

Carving in soapstone.

"Lastly must be mentioned the modern practice of carving in soapstone. This material appears to be a steatite of somewhat tough texture and a warm grey tint. It comes from a place in the dominions of the Mahárájá of Jaipur; and, unless too sharp or high, it stands like leather, though it cuts like cheese. It forms into beautiful clean patterns, either floral or arabesque, which are made into boxes, card-trays, and such like articles of drawing-room use. But a time may be hoped for when this cheap and pretty work may be extended to architectural decoration. I am not informed as to its powers of standing weather; but in the interior of halls and reception-rooms its introduction on white walls and ceilings would have a fine effect, either as cornices or mantel mouldings. A handsome piece of soapstone carving may be had for a few rupees; and the decoration of a whole dining-room with it could be hardly more expensive than the decoration of the same walls with English paper-hangings."

Manufactures of silk,

In his *Lay of the Last Minstrel* Scott pictures the Fair Geraldine as lying on a "couch of Ind," "a couch of Agra's silken loom." Whatever may have been the case in the first half of the sixteenth century, it may be doubted whether much Agra silk finds its way to Europe now. But a good deal of the raw material is spun into thread at Nai-kí-Mandí and Tájganj; while in the former quarter of the city a good deal of thread is converted into silk cloth (*súsi*). Both thread and cloth are exported in fair quantities. The same may be said of the gold and silver lace

of gold and silver,

and brocade manufactured at Agra. These materials are much in demand for girdles (*patka*), and for the

braiding (*gota*) of gala dresses. The wire of which the brocade or lace is made is drawn and otherwise prepared at Agra itself. If gold, this wire is called *kaṇḍlá*; if silver, *kalá-battún*.

of carpets.

The carpets or druggets called *darí* are woven at Agra and Fatehpur-Sikri; but from the latter place the export of these articles is very limited. The *daris* for which Agra has a special reputation are small, and are indeed little more than rugs for lying on; but native travellers visiting the city generally bear one away as a curiosity.[1] Large carpets can be made to order; but Europeans prefer, as a rule, to buy large carpets at the jail. The only remaining manufacture which need be noticed is that of the stems or long flexible tubes (*naicha*) of *huqqas* or native tobacco-pipes. Wrought at Agra, these stems are often highly adorned.

and pipe-stem.

Trade.

The following note on the trade of the district is from the pen of Mr. J. B. Fuller, C.S., late Assistant Director of Agriculture and Commerce in these provinces:—

Trade routes.

"The trade communications of the Agra district are numerous and varied, comprising three lines of railway, the river Jumna, the Dehli-Agra canal, and a large number of roads, metalled and unmetalled, which cross the district frontier at every few miles of its length. With the Native States of Dholpur and Gwáliár the district is connected by means of the Sindhia State Railway and by four roads, one of which is metalled and of first class importance. Communication is effected with the States of Bhartpur and Jaipur by the Rájputána State Railway and by two roads; with the Muttra district by the Dehli-Agra canal and by a metalled road;[2] and with the districts of Aligarh, Etah, Mainpuri, and Etawah by the East India Railway, by four roads (two of which are metalled) and, in a less degree, by the river Jumna.

"*It is difficult to find much that is characteristic in the traffic which is transacted by* these routes, if our attention is confined to that portion of it which belongs to the Agra district and if we do not include in our survey merely passing or transit traffic. Perhaps the principal feature in the agriculture of the district is the extent of the area under cotton cultivation (which amounts to over 12 per cent of the total cultivated area), and the almost entire absence of the sugarcane. There is, in consequence, a steady flow of cotton from the district, and of sugar into it, and this, together with the export traffic in stone from the Fatehpur Sikri and other quarries, constitutes the most striking feature in the local trade, and represents the principal portion of commercial transactions in years of normal prosperity.

"When, however, we consider the traffic which merely runs through the district, the most prominent feature is the trade in salt, which is exported in very large quantities from the Sámbhar lake to other localities in Rájputána, for the supply of most of the population of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

"In forming conclusions as to the traffic of the Agra district, this traffic in salt should of course be excluded, except in so far as it supplies the local consumption of the district; and the other items which figure in the through traffic between Rájputána, Gwáliár and North-

[1] Mr. Benson's notes. [2] To these means of communication with Muttra the Muttra-Achhnerá railway must now be added.

Western Provinces districts, *viâ* Agra, should be similarly treated. But in practice such treatment is found extremely difficult. So far as through consignments by rail are concerned—*e.g.*, consignments from places in Rájputána to places east of Agra—the present system of railway traffic registration admits of their being absolutely eliminated from the traffic of the district. But where goods, such as salt or cotton, are booked in the first place to Agra city, for subsequent re-export by road, rail or canal, it is extremely difficult to enforce this distinction with safety. And in the following statistics all traffic passing through the Agra district is treated as belonging to the district, with the exception of through consignments by rail.

Road traffic; with Native States.

"The traffic which runs by road may be broadly subdivided according as it is transacted with the Native States of Gwáliár, Dholpur, and Bhartpur, situated to the south and west of the district, or with the British districts of Muttra, Etah, Mainpuri and Etáwah, which adjoin its northern and eastern limits. Road traffic with Native States was registered as completely as possible in the financial years 1877-78 and 1878-79, by means of the customs clerks employed at the openings in the then existing customs line, at the places noted in the first columns of the following tables, which give a synopsis of the traffic registered in both years:—

Imports.

	Year.	Cotton.	Cotton goods.	Grain.	Metals.	Oil-seeds.	Provisions	Salt.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total	
		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
ROAD—												
A.—From Gwáliár.												
1. *Viâ* Báh ...	1877-78,	...	12	50	709	1,409	55	...	...	20	2,305	29,934
	1878-79,	...	52	2,210	1,295	701	77	50	4,830	531	9,751	55,605
2. *Viâ* Fatehábád	1877-78,	60	...	510	...	1,282	1,051	143	...	...	3,076	70,067
	1878-79,	40	13,70	1,370	3	...	35	031	603	88	4,451	1,71,155
3. *Viâ* Kakuba ...	1877-78,	11,127	4,204	3,328	10,811	7,280	2,065	054	...	29,473	69,911	10,45,384
	1878-79,	19,263	3,073	60,345	5,954	21,961	1,693	403	...	23,101	1,34,949	3,40,116
B.—From Dholpur.												
4. *Viâ* Malpura	1877-78,	2,202	2	05	12	1,200	1,290	...	...	10,117	14,978	1,75,781
	1878-79,	3,000	88	9,038	10	5,500	2,257	...	...	23,020	44,732	1,73,643
C.—From Jaipur.												
5. *Viâ* Fatehpur Sikri.	1877-78,	5,410	61	...	...	...	11	...	...	(*a*)1,44,087	1,49,569	1,93,714
	1877-79,	31,948	540	4,806	...	15,859	600	...	270	(*b*)1,82,781	2,36,873	6,77,955
D.—From Bhartpur.												
6. *Viâ* Bichpuri,	1877-78,	14,060	..	12,256	...	1,131	...	40,973	...	(*c*)22,784	97,751	1,60,308
	1878-79,	38,907	485	21,304	...	6,127	591	1,985	...	(*d*)97,544	1,76,863	6,44,142
Total ...	1877-78,	33,500	4,320	16,260	11,532	12,308	5,374	47,770	...	2,06,101	3,77,606	19,81,032
	1878-79,	94,003	0,209	99,070	6,301	50,554	5,259	3,369	5,714	3,27,131	6,07,639	25,68,616

(*a*) Stone—1,31,123. (*b*) Stone—1,62,530. (*c*) Stone—5,224. (*d*) Stone—68,824.

Exports.

	Year.	Cotton.	Cotton goods	Grain.	Metals.	Oil-seeds.	Provisions.	Salt.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	
ROAD—												
A.—*From Gwalior.*		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds	Mds.	Mds	Mds.	Rs.
1. *Vid* Dhi ...	1877-78,	115	55	18,304	101	12	...	...	8,910	1,817	29,802	99,340
	1878-79,	47	,	4,100	1,202	027	299	...	466	1,453	8,593	99,106
2. *Vid* Fatehábád ...	1877-78,	..	31	5,389	55	...	..	..	202	191	5,865	38,722
	1878-79,	958	520	26,009	121	412	2,330	..	110	440	30,410	1,76,705
3. *Vid* Kakúba ..	1877-78,	1,982	9,735	3,26,640	4,067	1,267	9,900	33,115	70,383	18,130	4,70,101	34,70,630
	1878-79,	109	7,759	1,00,572	0,537	851	2,079	...	09,078	45,340	3,94,208	23,61,206
B.—*From Dholpur.*												
4. *Vid* Malpura ...	1877-78,	...	421	56,911	03	12	2	281	...	3,031	60,175	2,27,593
	1878-79,	..	505	5,179	180	..	481	..	15,171	4,170	20,300	2,74,561
C.—*From Jaipur.*												
5. *Vid* Fatehpur Sikri.	1877-78,	...	,	16,283	1	260	...	100	..	159	16,609	50,368
	1878-79,	...	491	60,033	039	...	595	.	10,595	6,111	84,034	3,57,103
D.—*From Bhartpur.*												
6. *Vid* Bichpuri ..	1877-78,	..	12	55,866	321	2,801	71	.	11,187	11,036	81,294	3,02,272
	1878-79,	.	141	73,802	75	..	867	...	31,907	15,012	1,21,137	4,00,511
Total ..	1877-78,	2,107	10,253	4,79,497	5,507	4,342	10,012	.	90,052	34,715	9,72,175	31,83,533
	1878-79,	814	9,109	3,39,153	18,03/	1,920	7,20	37,010	1,11,007	72,702	6,05,330	30,51,052

"These figures show the trade transacted by road between the Agra district and the Native States which border it. The total value of both imports and exports shows close correspondence in both the years for which statistics are given, amounting in 1877-78 to over 61½ lákhs and in 1878-79 to 62 lákhs of rupees. In both years the exports very greatly exceed the imports in value: in 1877-78 in the proportion of 2 to 1 and in the following year in the proportion of 7 to 5; representing a balance in the favour of the Agra district of 22 lákhs of rupees in the one year and 11 lákhs of rupees in the other. It must be stated, however, that these returns show road trade as it stood before the opening of the Sindhia State Railway; which may now be expected to compete successfully for the carriage of, at all events, a very large portion of it. It is noticeable how large is the share engrossed by the Agra-Gwáliár road running *vid* Kakúbá, which carried one-half of the traffic in 1877-78, and considerably over one-third in the following year. The Sindhia State Railway now, however, competes more directly with this road than with any other; and it is possible that, in a very few years, long distance cart traffic will have almost ceased on it.

"The most noticeable features in the traffic are the imports of cotton, stone and salt, in exchange for cotton goods, grain and sugar. The traffic in cotton goods, which constitutes by far the most valuable item in the export trade, is principally in goods of European manufacture and is almost entirely confined to the Agra-Gwáliár road.

"The statistics which have been collected of the road traffic between the Agra district and the British districts adjoining it are very imperfect; and only comprise returns of the traffic passing along the two metalled roads leading to Aligarh and Shikohabad, which was registered during the financial year 1879-80. No statistics are available of traffic on the metalled road between Agra and Muttra, nor of that on the unmetalled roads running to Jalesar and Etáwah *vid* Fatehábád. Traffic on these two latter roads is, however, of only trifling amount, while that on the Muttra road is of considerable importance.

With British districts.

"The registration posts on the Aligarh and Shikohabad roads were not located on or near the Agra district boundary (as was the case with the posts by which the road traffic with Native States registered), but were situated at a distance of only two miles from Agra city, so that the traffic which they returned may be more properly considered that of the city than of the district, a large portion of the traffic which it includes lying between Agra city and other places in the Agra district.

"The returns of these posts are summarized below:—

	Cotton.	Cotton goods	Grain.	Metals.	Oilseeds.	Provisions.	Salt.	Stone.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	
To Agra city.												
By Aligarh-road ...	Mds. 13,636	Mds. 2,055	Mds. 230,584	Mds. 3,762	Mds. 13,337	Mds 1,772	Mds 1,207	Mds. 24	Mds 7,320	Mds. 59,755	Mds. 333,552	Rs 15,70,962
By Shikohabad road ...	3,639	485	81,081	834	14,509	35,990	...	...	3,781	79,510	219,829	10,68,413
Total ...	17,275	2,540	311,765	4,596	27,846	37,762	1,207	24	11,101	139,265	553,381	26,39,375
From Agra city.												
By Aligarh-road ...	607	3,765	50,065	5,004	4,272	802	47,929	22,220	...	21,665	156,341	10,23,509
By Shikohabad road...	4,513	36	75,293	333	95	6	58,297	9,207	2,256	1,209	151,242	5,37,637
Total ...	5,120	3,801	125,358	5,337	4,367	808	106,226	31,436	2,256	22,874	307,583	15,61,146

"The large import of cotton and grain was in great part destined for re-export to Calcutta. The 'provisions' imported by the Shikohabad road consisted principally of potatoes from Farukhabad and Káimganj. Salt and stone are the most noticeable items in the exports, the former of which was of course Rájputána, and not Agra, produce.

"The river Jumna and the Dehli canal offer two means of communication by water, which are however very sparingly utilised. The traffic carried by the Jumna was formerly of very large dimensions, but has been very greatly reduced by the direct competition of the East Indian Railway, and also possibly by the diminution in the river stream owing to the abstraction of water for the three canals which are fed from it. The only important Jumna wharves in this district are those at Agra city with 65, and at Panáhat with 28 boats. Allowing, therefore, for a few vessels kept at smaller *ghâts* or landing-places, the total number of river boats now belonging to the district may be set down as 100. But certainly not more than half this number are employed in the transport of long distance traffic, the remainder being used in boat-bridges and at ferries. What boats still remain available for the carriage of goods are used only in the conveyance of articles such as cotton or stone, which through bulk or weight are unsuited for transport by rail; or at times when Agra merchants possess large stocks for which there exists down country a steady demand at prices which show signs of maintaining themselves during the period required for a river journey. So far as the Jumna at Agra is concerned, river transport has shown itself quite unable to flourish in the face of railway competition. The freight by boat is undoubtedly cheaper; but the length of time taken in the journey, delays arising from shoals, and the constant risk of wreck

Water traffic.
By river.

are powerful arguments in favour of railways, especially when such a large proportion of trade is carried on, as now, in the form of time bargains. Some typical freights, of those prevailing in 1880, may be noted as follows, the weight for which the price is quoted being in each case 100 maunds.—Stone, to Dehli Rs. 13; salt, to Kálpi Rs. 30, to Rájápur Rs. 35, to Allahabad Rs. 37-8-0, to Mirzápur Rs. 40, to Gházipur Rs. 50, and to Patna Rs. 65; cotton, to Mirzápur, Rs. 37-8-0, to Benares Rs 46-14-0, to Gházipur Rs. 50, and to Patna Rs. 75.

By canal.

"In the absence of any definite statistics it is difficult to estimate the amount of traffic which the river Jumna still retains. Some clue may, however, be afforded by the fact that the number of boats which annually pass through the pontoon bridge at Kálpi, some 140 miles below Agra, is 228, of which 120 pass up-stream. These up-stream vessels generally carry a weight of about 400, and those going down the river of about 700 maunds. This makes the total long distance traffic on the Jumna, north of Kálpi (including that of the Etáwa, Muttra and Dehli districts as well as that of Agra) about 1,33,600 maunds, of which 75,600 travel down-stream; and represents it, therefore, as being very insignificant Traffic on the Dehli canal is also of no great importance, although the canal has been connected with the cities of Muttra and Agra by still-water channels at very considerable extra expense. Traffic on the canal between places in the Agra district and (*a*) places in the Muttra district and (*b*) places in Gurgáon and Dehli was carefully registered by the canal authorities in the year ending March 31st, 1880, with the following results:—

	Cotton.	Grain.	Metals.	Oilseeds.	Salt.	Stone.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total	
To Agra District.	Mds	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.
From Muttra district,	132	7,906	...	13,578	10	200	1,247	7,955	21,028	64,151
From Gurgáon and Dehli.	98	33,834	...	3,107	350	1,250	2,159	8,510	49,317	1,16,695
Total ..	230	41,740		6,685	360	1,450	3,406	16,474	70,345	1,80,846
From Agra District										
To Muttra district	...	...	...	...	..	28,355	...	562	29,017	57,834
To Gurgáon and Dehli,	...	..	140	...	...	82,393	...	...	82,533	1,65,766
Total ...	..	...	140	...	...	110,748	...	562	1,11,550	2,23,600

"The traffic consists therefore in little else than the import of a small quantity of grain and the export of stone. The insignificance of the trade is all the more remarkable from there being a considerable road traffic running parallel to it between Muttra and Agra, the very places which the canal connects. The principal obstacle to the increase of traffic on the canal is probably the fact that its head (at Okhla) is separated from Dehli by some miles of difficult navigation on the Jumna; and if the canal could be connected with Dehli by a navigation channel, as it is with Muttra and Agra, there is small doubt but that the traffic would be enormously increased. At the same time, it is somewhat extraordinary that there is not more local traffic carried by it between Agra and Muttra, which are separated by no break of canal.

"The comparative merits of the system under which navigation is at present conducted, and that (often advocated) of the Canal Department running regular trains of boats and undertaking all carriage itself, are somewhat closely connected with the extent to which the navigable canals of these provinces are used for traffic. At present the conveyance of goods on both Agra and Ganges canals is effected in private boats which ply on the canals under the management of their owners, and the canal derives its income from dues levied on these boats,

and no from anything in the way of freight on the goods carried in them. The canal is therefore virtually an open highway, and freights on it are regulated purely by competition, just as the freights for shipping between Calcutta and London. If the competition is of the fair and legitimate type which regulates the freights demanded by European ship-owners, the system would appear, so far as the interests of commerce are concerned, an excellent one. But it appears doubtful whether such competition can be looked for amongst native boat-owners, who either combine to keep the freights at the height at which they can derive the greatest profits with the least possible amount of trouble (that is to say, of traffic); or if they compete at all, are so carried away in their rivalry as to prefer carrying at a heavy loss to not carrying at all. The freights are consequently liable to extreme variations. It is nothing uncommon at the Cawnpore wharf for a variation of 50 and even 100 per cent. to take place within a few days. With so much uncertainty it is impossible for a merchant to form an accurate forecast of the profit of a venture until he has succeeded in chartering his boats, and this must operate unfavourably for the canal. In the case of the Agra canal the Executive Engineer in charge of Navigation writes in his report for the year 1877-78:—'I am convinced that the most satisfactory and certain way of increasing the revenue would be to exclude all private boats from the canal and to extend our own boating operations.'

Traffic by rail.

"No statistics are available to show the traffic which the Agra district transacts by rail, since it does not form one of the 'blocks,' which are the units for purposes of railway trade registration. Returns are, however, possessed of the rail-borne traffic of Agra city, which are absolutely complete for the year ending March 31st, 1881, and which only lack returns of traffic on the Rájputána State Railway to be complete for the preceding year. These returns not only exhibit the total exports and imports of Agra by rail, but they also classify them according to the tracts to or from which they ran.

"They are summarized below:—

Imports by rail into Agra during the years ending 31st March, 1880 and 1881.

		Cotton.	Cotton goods.	Grain.	Metals.	Oilseeds.	Provisions.	Salt.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total	
		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.
From Calcutta-Howrah,	1879-80,	...	8,890	5	1,25,727	...	1,456	1	715	98,506	2,30,330	23,88,671
	1880 81,	...	8,293	3,27	77,001	...	931	...	6,561	64,791	1,01,813	23,00,167
From Bombay-Byculla,	1879 80,	20	572	...	10,351	..	21	...	520	6,769	18,260	1,58,333
	1880-81,	16	409	...	9,200	..	24	...	391	3,791	13,023	1,70,088
From Bengal (excluding Calcutta) ..	1879-80,	...	333	9,807	2,781	...	41	...	1,32,674	20,303	1,72,003	10,57,077
	1880-81,	...	13	2,05,004	142	35	11	...	1,35,720	9,01,711	9,42,844	30,20,940
From Panjáb (excluding Dehli) .	1879-80,	...	31	15,847	203	.	..	487	167	15,638	32,363	2,39,703
	1880-81,	192	12	91	110	...	..	541	557	19,910	20,592	1,90,416
From Dehli	1879-80,	200	2,049	30,703	325	30	87	60	1,884	11,402	46,723	0,14,036
	1880-81,	2,070	2,941	1,329	220	40	131	20	4,747	9,934	24,012	4,90,880
From stations on the R. S R and S. S. R. ..	1879-80,	.	...	Not registered completely.								
	1880 81,	1,12,904	903	8,542	430	110	1,758	9,09,103	3,081	50,013	7,04,156	43,60,335
From Central Provinces	1879-80,	..	..	221	138	...	63	...	..	839	1,311	10,920
	1880-81,	...	1	8,004	...	...	...	...	...	2,080	10,091	20,140
From Bombay and Madras Presidencies .	1879-80,	...	273	...	128	...	..	...	...	491	880	17,237
	1880-81,	...	899	274	30	..	.	.	...	1,010	2,219	33,050
From stations in the N-W. P. and Oudh.	1879-80,	732	17,408	4,30,901	6,721	509	3,595	1,070	1,60,451	1,37,091	7,73,331	51,09,805
	1880-81,	11,281	13,251	9,20,197	8,085	7,141	3,145	610	2,23,270	1,21,312	13,08,903	90,85,169
Total ...	1879-80,	907	31,552	4,95,790	1,46,977	542	5,268	2,230	3,03,417	2,99,059	12,84,210	1,08,23,981
	1880-81,	1,27,071	26,870	11,87,915	96,849	7,331	5,970	6,10,280	3,76,210	8,79,930	32,77,423	1,06,07,717

Exports by rail from Agra during the years ending 31st March, 1880 and 1881.

		Cotton	Cotton goods.	Grain.	Metals	Oilseeds.	Provisions.	Salt.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total	
		Mds	Mds.	Mds.	Mds	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.
To Calcutta-Howrah	1879-80,	3,24,649	510	1,517	83	80,831	2,127	..	...	32,902	4,42,615	55,05,289
	1880-81,	4,15,817	145	821	146	27,7 4	8,416	...	...	11,830	5,23,212	74,84,082
To Bombay-Byculla	1879-80,	20,305	177	26,133	15	43,308	...	..	41	17,172	1,06,201	6,37,085
	1880-81,	11,454	691	784	2	9,030	1	...	...	19,554	80,120	3,25,054
To Bengal (excluding Calcutta)	1879-80,	40,012	511	10	10	83,749	815	12,590	...	4,811	1,43,123	10,07,241
	1880-81,	57,417	308	501	8	2,068	789	11,030	...	0,432	79,341	10,24,325
To Panjab (excluding Dehli).	1879-80,	.	187	701	2,371	505	393	1	09	49,248	53,507	3,71,516
	1880-81,	...	153	01	1,651	3,238	620	..	55	53,843	62,554	2,92,786
To Dehli ...	1879-80,	..	213	1,201	1,339	201	9	37	253	15,187	18,552	83,991
	1880-81,	52	172	67	615	51	125	...	369	10,080	11,061	1,03,430
To stations on the R. S.N. and S S.R.	1879-80,	...	...	Not registered completely.								
	1880-81,	497	5,799	40,663	12,309	549	610	4,057	61,179	4,01,2 5	8,23,091	24,84,725
To Central Provinces	1879-80,	...	1,165	521	2	..	...	18,207	...	472	20,375	1,40,247
	1880-81,	...	1,912	317	383	2,455	3	11,350	...	902	17,112	1,02,058
To Bombay and Madras Presidencies.	1879-80,	...	3,956	0,718	14	...	...	28	243	9,372	19,734	2,05,443
	1880-81,	...	3,020	...	2	..	141	...	...	10,405	14,171	3,05,928
To stations in the N.-W. P. and Oudh.	1879-80,	10,709	1,073	82,151	4,904	10,024	985	2,41,477	6,383	99,122	4,02,831	28,01,223
	1880-81,	35,993	1,221	8,320	4,061	1,570	1,010	1,38,109	3,710	92,114	3,12,778	20,11,579
Total ...	1879-80,	4,01,702	7,102	1,18,038	8,747	2,10,278	4,325	2,72,330	7,021	2,28,249	12,60,995	1,09,73,935
	1880-81,	5,01,250	14,387	52,036	19,207	44,522	15,780	1,05,242	05,341	7,20,416	16,88,211	1,37,32,507

"It will be understood that these figures only include traffic actually booked to and from Agra city and do not include *through* traffic, *i.e.*, traffic which merely runs through Agra, on its way between two other places, and never leaves the railway premises.

"Taking the returns for 1880-81, we find that the total value of the railway traffic amounted to over 3 krors of rupees, the imports exceeding the exports in value by some 27 lákhs of rupees. Values were calculated from the average prices ruling in the Cawnpore market during the year, and the excess in value of imports over exports (which represents the profits of local merchants) would have been larger had the traffic been valued at Agra rates, since the exports would have been of rather lower, and the imports of rather higher, value. The largest share in the import traffic is taken by stations in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Rájputána coming next in virtue of its large trade in cotton and salt. Bengal follows with heavy consignments of grain (principally rice) and sugar; and then Calcutta with European cotton piece goods and metals. It should be noted, however, that a large quantity of Calcutta piece goods are received in re-export from Cawnpore, and go, therefore, to swell the total of the imports from the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

"In the export trade Calcutta holds by far the first place, engrossing half the export (if estimated by value) and receiving three times as much as the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, which stand next in importance. The greater portion of this traffic is represented by cotton, which is consigned to Calcutta, principally for export to China and the Mediterranean. It is probable, however, that in time Bombay will attract to itself a large proportion of the traffic now flowing towards the sister port; since the establishment of connection with the Bombay Presidency by the Rájputána State Railway and Bombay and Baroda line (*viâ* Ahmadabad) has opened out a far more direct route to the seaboard than Agra has hitherto enjoyed (*viâ* the East Indian Railway to Calcutta)."

Markets and Fairs.

The greater towns are not the only places where the rustic can do his primitive shopping, where he can sell his surplus grain and buy cooking vessels or clothing. In every sub-collectorate are villages which hold market once or twice weekly. Of these small rural centres of commerce something will be said in the town and tahsíl articles at the end of this notice. Larger but less frequent opportunities of trading are supplied by numerous yearly fairs. The Indian fair, like the European, is usually held on some holy day. But, unlike its European equivalent, it still pleads for its existence some religious excuse. Its attendants come to bathe at the full moon in some hallowed stream, or to worship at the shrine of some famous local saint. But since facilities of communication began to attract a greater host of booth-building hucksters, these gatherings have become commercial rather than sacred. They are now but half religious and wholly profane. The following list shows the times and places at which most of these fairs are held, together with their names or ostensible objects:—

Place.	Tahsíl.	Date.	Ostensible religious object or name.
Itaura ...	Headquarters .	8th bright half,[1] Bhádon (August-September).	Worship of Devi, the consort of Shiva.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	8th bright half, Chait (March-April)	Ditto ditto.
Tájganj ...	Ditto ,,	2nd dark half, [1]Chait ...	Lalu Jagdhar.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	2nd bright half, Kárttik (October-November)	Ditto.
Bodla ...	Ditto ...	End of the Muslim month Ramazán.	Name Urs or "Nuptials." Object, worship at shrine of Kadim Sharíf.
Jogipur ...	Ditto ...	Kuár (September-October.)	Worship of a goddess named Baráhi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Chait	Ditto.
Tehra ,,	Ditto ...	8th bright half, [1]Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Sikandra ,,	Ditto ...	Last Monday in Sáwan (July-August.)	Worship at temple called "Heaven of Shiva" (*Kailásh Mahádeo*)
Khalua ...	Ditto ...	7th bright half, Chait ..	Chámar, a local goddess.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, Bhádon ...	Ditto.

[1] For an explanation of the terms "bright half," "dark half," see above, p. 128.

Place.	Tahsil.	Date.	Ostensible religious object or name.
Lashkarpur ...	Headquarters ...	10th of the Muslim month Muharram.	Mourning for the Shia martyrs Hasan and Husain.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Thursdays in Sáwan ...	Urs.
Malpura ...	Ditto ...	6th bright half, Bhádon ...	Worship of Baladeva.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	15th bright half, Aghan (November-December.)	Ditto.
Mau ...	Ditto ...	Every Monday in Chait and Asárh (June-July.)	Propitiation of small-pox goddess (Sítlá.)
Magtai ...	Ditto ...	12th dark half, Chait ...	Worship of Shiva.
Midhákúr ...	Ditto ...	6th bright half, Chait ...	Phúl-dol
1st division of city environs (*Sawád i-Shahr* Chauki.)	Ditto ...	1st ditto ...	Commemoration of the destruction of Kansa, the Hindu Herod.
2nd division of ditto.	Ditto ...	First Thursday in Kuár ...	Kamál Khán.
Agra ...	Ditto ...	Every Thursday in Bhádon,	Name Pairáki. Object described below.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Tuesdays in Bhádon ...	Name Piyála. Object described below.
Achhnera ...	Kiráoli ...	13th dark half, Chait ...	Commemoration of Kansa's destruction.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	5th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Babodh ...	Ditto ...	Full moon of Chait ...	Ditto.
Runkuta ...	Ditto ...	Dasahra (10th bright half) of Jeth (May-June.)	First[1] Dasahra festival.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1st bright half, Chait ...	Sarwar Sultán.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1st bright half, Kárttik ...	Ditto.
Árázi Imlák at Fatehpur Síkri	Ditto ...	28th of Ramazán ...	Called Urs. Held in honour of Shaikh Salím Chishti.
Kiráoli ...	Ditto ...	2nd dark half, Chait ...	Phúl-dol.
Jagner ...	Khairágarh ...	Full moon of Bhádon ...	Gwál-bábá (which probably means the infant Krishna).
Aela ...	Ditto ...	15th dark half do. ...	Kund or "pond."
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	8th dark half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Birthala ...	Ditto ...	Ditto Bhádon ...	Ceremonial bathing in the *kund*.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Sundays in Baisákh (April-May.	Ditto.
Uncha ...	Fatehabad ...	7th dark half, Chait ...	Holi festival.
Bichauli ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Worship of Hanumán, the monkey ally of Ráma.
Bharepura ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Bilpura ...	Ditto ...	10th ditto ...	Ditto.
Bázídpura ...	Ditto ...	4th dark half, Baisákh ...	Káras, a god presiding over milch cattle.
Begampur ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi,
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	4th dark half, Baisákh ...	Káras.
Pentíkhera ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th dark half, Bhádon ...	Ditto.
Tiwoha ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	15th ditto ...	Worship of Hanumán.
Jagrájpur ...	Ditto ...	18th ditto ...	Worship of Shiva, Devi, and Hanumán.
Jarári ...	Ditto ...	6th dark half, Baisákh ...	Worship of Devi.
Dhimsiri ...	Ditto ...	9th ditto ...	Ditto.
Dhanola Kalán ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Rúppur ...	Ditto ...	6th dark half, Baisákh ...	Káras.
Sárangpur ...	Ditto ...	15th ditto ...	Worship of Devi.

[1] There is a second and greater Dasahra, the tenth of the bright half of Kuár (Sept.-Oct.)

Place.	Tahsíl.	Date.	Ostensible religious object or name.
Siláwali ...	Fatehabad ...	8th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Salempur ...	Ditto ...	8th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Fatehpur-Rohi,	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Kaulára Kalán ..	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Ditto.
Kherábágh ...	Ditto ...	1st bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Kahyánpur	Ditto ...	8th dark half, Baisákh ...	Ditto.
Kaulára Khurd,	Ditto ...	7th ditto ...	Ditto.
Kurra Chhatarpur.	Ditto ...	7th dark half, Chait ...	Holi festival.
Garhi Daryáo ...	Ditto ...	15th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Hanumán.
Gangaura ...	Ditto ...	9th ditto ...	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Kuár ..	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Baisákh...	Worship of Hanumán.
Mahárájpur ...	Ditto ...	5th ditto ...	Worship of Devi.
Maráwal ...	Ditto ...	7th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Meoli Kalán ..	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Baisákh...	Ditto.
Mahárámpur ...	Ditto ...	7th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	7th bright half, Bhádon...	Ditto.
Naugawán ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Machákhera ...	Ditto ..	10th ditto ...	Ditto.
Hirnohar Nawádakhera.	Ditto ...	11th bright half, Bhádon...	Játra, *i. e.*, religious festival or fair.
Báh ...	Panáhat ...	5th dark half, Chait ...	Worship of Baladeva.
Do. ...	Ditto ...	2nd bright half, Kuár ...	Rám Mela, *i. e.*, fair of Ráma
Bateśar ...	Ditto ...	Every Sunday in Sáwan ...	Worship of Shiva.
Ditto ...	Ditto ..	5th bright half, Kárttik...	Ditto (Mela kalán Mahádeoji).
Bamrauli ...	Ditto ...	15th bright half, Aghan ...	Nágaji.
Bhedáwali ...	Ditto ..	8th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	8th bright half, Kuár ..	Ditto.
Panáhat ..	Ditto ..	6th dark half, Baisákh ..	Worship of Baladeva.
Ditto ...	Ditto ..	6th dark half, Bhádon ..	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ..	15th bright half, Aghan ..	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Kuár ..	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ..	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Kuár ...	Rám Mela.
Kachaura ...	Ditto ...	6th bright half, Bhádon ..	Deo Chhat.
Gonsli ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Rámnauami festival.
Naugawán ...	Ditto ...	1st ditto ...	Worship of Devi.
Firozabad ...	Firozabad ...	End of Chait ...	Mela Saráogi or Jain fair.
Do (Agra-gate),	Ditto ...	10th of Muharram ...	Muharram festival.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Rámnauami festival.
Chandwár ...	Ditto ...	10th bright half, Jeth ...	First Dasahra festival.
Safípur ...	Ditto ...	21st of Muslim month Safar	Urs.
Datáoji near Firozabad.	Ditto ...	1st dark half, Chait ...	Commemoration of Kansa's destruction.
Pachwan ...	Ditto ...	14th bright half, Kuár ...	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ..	14th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	14th bright half, Baisákh...	Ditto.
Járkhi ...	P'timádpur ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Rámnauami festival.
Sháhdára ...	Ditto ...	Every Sunday in Mágh, (January-February.)	Jakhaiya.
Rasúlabad ...	Ditto ...	8th dark half, Chait ...	Serha.
Sohta ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Rámnauami festival.
Sitauli ...	Ditto ...	10th bright half, Kuár ...	Second Dasahra festival.
Himmatpur ...	Ditto ...	7th and 8th bright half, Chait.	Worship of Devi, here called Durga.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	7th and 8th bright half, Baisákh.	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	7th & 8th bright half, Kuár,	Ditto.

It will be noted that none of these fairs is held in Pús (December-January), none in Phálgun (February-March), and but one in the intervening month of Mágh (January-February). The reason probably is that during this quarter of the year the people are engrossed in cultivation for the vernal harvest. Most fairs take place in Chait (March-April), when that harvest has already begun. Chief of all such gatherings is the famous Kárttik assembly at Batesar, but this will be described in the Gazetteer article on that town. Next comes the Sikandra fair, which has an estimated attendance of from 50,000 to 75,000 persons. The Kailásh Mahádeo temples from which it takes its name stands on the banks of the Jumna, in Swámi village; and here takes place the worship which is the religious object of the gathering. Its secular objects, sight-seeing and trade, are attained in the neighbouring garden of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. That Hindu festivities should be held here would perhaps have been deemed a profanation under strict Musalmán rule; and it is only since the decline of that rule that the fair has reached its present importance. The Dasahra fair at Runkuta is reckoned to attract some 10,000 people; the Muharram at Lashkarpur some 50,000; the Sítla at Mau some 40,000; the Kamál Khán in the City environs some 30,000; the Devi at Itaura, the Gwálbábá at Jagner and the Muharram at Firozabad, some 20,000 each; the Dasahra at Runkuta 10,000 or 15,000; the Kansa at Achhnera and Urs at Fatehpur-Síkri, about 5,000 each.[1] Whether the Lalu Jagdhar Khatri from whom the Chait fair at Tájganj takes its name was one person or two is doubtful. Suffice it to mention that the original object of the fair was a sort of commination service on him or them; and that the merry-makers still amuse themselves by scattering on him or them a host of opprobrious epithets.[2] One of the most peculiar fairs in the district is the *Pairáki* or "swimming" meeting at Agra. Its principal day is the last Thursday afternoon in Bhádon (August-September), when hundreds of men and some boys plunge into the rain-swollen Jumna. Supported in most cases by gourds, they from the Rámbágh and other neighbouring points swim about a mile downstream, shooting

[1] *Report on the Administration of the Police*, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1879, Appendices, 6B., and statistics attached to the Board of Revenue's map of the district.

[2] The Rohilkhand version of the Lalu Jagdhar legend has been thus described in the compiler's Bijnor memoir:—"During the reign of 'Alamgir *alias* Aurangzíb (1658-1707) many Khatrís were slain in the wars of the Dakkhan. The emperor, thinking it a pity that so many eligible widows should be left husbandless, summoned at Dehli a *pancháyat* of the tribe, whom he invited to adopt the custom of widow-marriage. Most of the Khatrís lent a willing ear to the proposal; but their chief, Lalu Jagdhar, opposed it. The emperor insisted no further on the adoption of the new custom, but in disgust ordered all Khatris to quit his service and confine themselves to mercantile pursuits. The name of Lalu Jagdhar is still applied derisively to obstructive members who have caused a panchayat to break up without forming a decision."

under the pontoon-bridge and landing at various places not far below it. Thousands of spectators crowd along the bank to watch them. Some few days after one of these exhibitions has taken place the frequenters of the fair assemble in the riverside groves and drink out of the cups called *piyála*. Hence the name of the Piyála gathering above-mentioned. A large additional force of police (110 men) ensures order at the Batesar fair. Smaller detachments of the same kind watch the Kailásh Mahádeo gathering at Sikandra, the Kamál Khán in the City environs, the Debi at Itaura, the Gwál-bábá at Jagner, the Lashkarpur Muharram, the Firozabad Muharram, the Sítla at Mau and the Dasahra at Runkuta.

Cattle-markets.

The largest cattle-market in the district, the fair at Batesar, comes round only once a year; but at four other places large cattle-markets are held weekly or oftener. At Sultánpur in the Home tahsíl and at Jarár in Panáhat these gatherings take place twice, at Kandarpura[1] in Panáhat and Shamsabad in Fatehabad once, a week. The native estimates of the number of cattle exposed for sale and sold on such occasions seem to err on the side of excess. Thus, as many as 1,000 head are said to be brought to Jarár market; while of these, again, 250 are said to find purchasers.

Weights and measures.

The subject of trade shall be closed with a few words on weights and measures. Solids and liquids alike are reckoned by weight, and measures of capacity are unknown. The standard of weight is the *ser*, which as usual varies somewhat from place to place. The Government ser of 80 rupees weight, or 2·057lb avoirdupois, is of course generally recognized; and in all tahsíls, save Fatehabad, Khairágarh and Panáhat, is said to be generally used. Even in the three excepted tracts it is perhaps used for retail purposes. But in wholesale transactions (as for instance when dealers buy grain, cotton or clarified butter from the villagers) the standard employed is the *Hálandsháhi ser*. This measure, which immortalizes the name of a Mr. Collector Holland, weighs as much as 90 rupees. A Hálandsháhi *panseri* or measure of 5 sers weighs therefore 5½, and a Hálandsháhi *man* or maund 45, of the ordinary Government sers. In Panáhat cotton, and cotton alone, is measured by a ser of 96 rupees. According to this scale the panseri equals 6 and the maund 48 Government sers. In Khairágarh, again, no less than four different standards are current. The first, used chiefly west of Jagner, equipoises 19 Bhartpur two-pie pieces (*taká*), or 58 British

[1] Mr. Benson's orthography has here been preferred to the two different spellings adopted by the *Imperial Gazetteer* and the Revenue Survey map

Government rupees; the second, in vogue at Jagner itself and thereabouts, weighs 20 two-pie pieces or 61 rupees; the third, little in vogue anywhere, 28 two-pie pieces or 86 rupees. The fourth and last is the Government ser already mentioned, which balances with 26 Bhartpur two-pie pieces. Reducing all these different sers to terms of English pounds avoirdupois, Mr. Benson gives the following figures :—

Government	ser	=	2·057 lb.
Hálandsháhí	„	=	2 314 „
Panáhat cotton	„	=	2·468 „
19 taká Khairágarh	„	=	1·491 „
20 „ „	„	=	1·568 „
28 „ „	„	=	2·211 „

The Government ser weighing 2·057 lb, the *ádhser* or ½ ser equals 1·028; the *páo* or ¼ ser, ·514 or about 8oz.; the *ádhpáo* or ⅛ ser, ·257 or about 4oz.; and the *chhaták* or $\frac{1}{16}$ ser, ·128 or about 2oz.

Long distances are reckoned by the rather vague standard called a *kos*. In some places it is described as equivalent to 1⅜ mile, in others to 1⅞; but 1¾ is the usual estimate. "Kos" is commonly translated "two miles," but that translation would here be inaccurate. In reckoning small distances yards (*gaz*) of varying length are used. The two best known are the *'imárati* or builder's yard and the *iláhí* or yard of Akbar. The former, the usual standard in towns, contains 33 English inches; the latter, the linear unit of official land measurement, 31½ only. Three *iláhí* yards equal 1 *ghatti*; and 20 ghattís, 1 *jaríb*. The jaríb therefore measures 52½ yards, English.

The square of this jaríb is the *paka* or official *bígha* of 2,756·25 square yards. A bígha amounts therefore to 2 roods 11 poles 3½ square yards, or to ·5694+ of an acre; and in an acre are 1·7560+ bighas. The latter figure will show how very slightly the standard of this district differs from the standard of Farukhabad.[1] The area of *kacha* or local bighas varies from place to place.

Time is divided into *pahar* or watches, four of the day and four of the night. Each watch contains 7½ *ghari* or periods of about 24 minutes. In the 24 hours, therefore, are 8 watches and 60 gharís.

In the coinage of the district there is nothing to note. The only rupees in general circulation are those of the modern British Government. And in British Government rupees the district income and expenditure for three out of the past twenty years may be shown thus :—

District receipts and expenditure.

[1] *Supra*, p. 127. The *iláhí gaz*, with the *jaríb* and *bígha* based thereon, is not so large as in Rohilkhand (see Gazr., V., 317 and 637). The standards of Akbar seem therefore to have lost their original uniformity.

Receipts.	1865-66.	1872-73	1880-81.	Expenditure.	1865-66.	1872-73	1880 81.
	Rs	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Land-revenue ...	16,78,333	16,41,715	17,95,789	1. Interest on funded and unfunded debts.	1,09,874	...	...
2. Excise on spirits and drugs[1].	88,01	64,276	95,847				
3. Assessed taxes ..	37,557	36,326	45,441	2. Refunds and drawbacks.	11,700	5,326	9,798
4. Customs ...	...	3,16,496	...				
5 Provincial rates..	...	2,17,827	3,10,048	3. Land-revenue ..	1,54,002	1,80,705	2,17,036
6. Salt	3,19,818	18,32,920	...	4 Excise on spirits and drugs.	20,484	0,620	4,0 3
7. Stamps ..	2,20,835	1,77,076	1,95,808				
8. Registration ...	23,851	14,508	20,890	5 Assessed taxes .	500	306	230
9. Post-office ..	61,430	...	.	6 Provincial rates...	...	. .	194
10. Minor departments.	...	...	7,948	7. Salt	260	2,39,475	...
				8. Stamps ...	7,519	3,346	2,955
11. Law and justice[2],	39,717	86,131	1,97,208	9. Registration ...	4,773	6,207	10,030
12. Police ...	19,024	12,902	8,394	10. Post-office ...	...	...	4,040
13. Education ...	1,937	7,048	4,406	11. Administration ...	56,224	52,384	52,374
14. Medical ...	...	...	2,088	12. Minor departments.	...	8,58	26,037
15. Stationery and printing.	...	...	331				
				13. Law and justice[2],	4,58.828	1,70,835	3,51,850
16. Interest ...	...	...	2,111	14. Police .	1,66,288	1,98,602	1,88,227
17. Receipts in aid of superannuation, retired and compassionate allowances.	...	...	12,753	15. Education ...	1,80,921	1,59,485	1,96,944
				16. Ecclesiastical ...	10,787	8,442	13,823
				17. Medical services,	25,487	55,569	67,985
				18. Stationery and printing.	1,296	...	13,911
18. Miscellaneous ...	3,536	20,014	8,832	19 Allowances and assignments under treaties and engagements.	71,075	58,698	54,143
19. Irrigation and navigation.	...	...	11,186				
20. Public works ...	18,786	1,04,220	54,561				
				20. Superannuation, retired and compassionate allowances.	42,917	52,864	1,03,179
				21. Miscellaneous ...	25,408	1,10,757	12,029
				22. Irrigation and navigation	...	...	5,797
				23. Public works ...	4,83,895	521	...
Total ...	25,12,825	65,31,392	27,73,161	Total ...	18,32,298	18,24,719	12,66,343

Besides the above, which are technically called 'service heads' and constitute the substantive accounts of Government, there are a multiplicity of other items lumped together under what are technically termed 'debt heads'. The latter amounted in 1879-80 (the only year for which the Accountant-General has furnished them) to—receipts, Rs. 1,19,64,046; charges, Rs. 1,34,09,568.

The former consisted of 50 items, the principal ones being—revenue deposits (Rs. 1,11,277), civil court deposits (Rs. 1,90,779), personal deposits (Rs 4,98,955), municipal funds (Rs. 1,84,068), cash remittances between treasuries (Rs. 31,55,187), remittance transfer receipts (Rs 3,74,917), account between the governments of these provinces and India (Rs. 65,67,513), account between the governments of these provinces and the Panjáb (Rs. 1,22,979), account between the governments of these provinces and Examiner, Buildings and Road Branch (Rs. 1,25,365). The debt head charges were classed into 54 items, the principal ones being—civil court

[1] Includes gross receipts on account of sale-proceeds of opium. [2] Includes Jails.

deposits (Rs 1,22,953), personal deposits (Rs. 5,52,113), municipal funds (Rs 1,95,508), cash remittances between treasuries (Rs. 1,40,596), foreign supply bills (Rs. 13,88,300), remittance transfer receipts (1,58,692), foreign remittance transfer receipts (Rs. 5,20,713), account between the governments of these provinces and India (Rs. 78,77,252), account between the governments of these provinces and the Panjáb (Rs. 6,39,319), account between the governments of these provinces and Military Department, Bengal (Rs. 15,97,453).

It will be evident from a glance at the above items that they do not directly affect the financial resources of the district.

Local rates and self-government.

Under the new scheme of local self-government which came into operation on the 1st April, 1882, the control of the district expenditure under the heads of education, medical charges, and public works, has, with certain reservations, been assigned to local committees, of which one is appointed for the district and one for each municipality. Funds are placed at the disposal of the district committee (*a*) by an assignment of local rates to the extent available, and (*b*) by a subsidy to the necessary amount—*first*, from the surplus provincial ferry fund, and *second*, from general provincial revenues. At present district committees are not entrusted with the assessment and collection of any of the funds.[1] The municipal committees have always had a voice in the assessment and disbursement of municipal funds and retain their privilege under the new scheme. The details of this measure are probably not yet settled finally, and it would require more space than can be allotted to the subject to expound at any length the scheme set forth in the resolutions of the local Government. It may be noted, however, that the balance of the local cess available for local expenditure (after deducting further rates and percentage for canals and railways) amounted in the current year (1882-83) to Rs. 1,69,920. When from this are deducted the sums required for district postal service (Rs. 6,520), lunatic asylums (Rs. 2,130), inspection of schools (Rs. 4,780), training schools (Rs. 1,060), district sanitation (Rs. 430), and the contribution to the cost of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce (Rs. 1,720), total Rs. 16,640, the available balance becomes Rs. 1,53,280. The expenditure under local control, excluding public works, is estimated to amount ordinarily to Rs. 1,45,900,—*viz.*, education Rs. 45,040, hospitals and dispensaries Rs. 17,370, vaccination Rs. 1,470, and village watchmen (under the control of the Magistrate) Rs. 82,020. The normal surplus available for public works is therefore only Rs. 7,380. As the total normal expenditure on public works amounts to Rs 60,950,[2] the normal

[1] See further Resolution, Financial Department, No 37, dated 14th April, 1882.

[2] The normal items of public works under local control are maintenance of local civil buildings, roads and bridges (Rs 32,860); allotments for petty works (Rs 6,000); district establishment made over to local committees (Rs. 16,550); original works and special repairs (Rs. 3,840); and arboriculture (Rs. 2,700, ; total Rs. 60,950 Statements I. and II. with Resolution No. 22, dated March 31st, 1882.

annual deficit in the local funds would be Rs. 53,570, and represents the sum that will have to be assigned as a subsidy. The reason why but five districts—Muzaffarnagar, Aligarh, Muttra, Hamírpur, and Gorakhpur—show a balance at credit, is the fact that local rates are levied upon the annual value or upon the cultivated area of the estates comprised in each district, at a uniform rate throughout the provinces. Rich and highly-assessed districts, therefore, enjoy a higher local income than poorer and more lightly-assessed ones, while the wants of the latter are often greater than in the case of the former.

Municipalities and house-tax towns.

Several other items in the accounts of district receipts and expenditure call for brief explanation. The municipal funds are collected and disbursed (chiefly on police, conservancy, and public works) by the corporations of Agra, Firozabad, and Fatehpur-Sikri. The separate income and expenditure of these towns will be mentioned in the Gazetteer article on each. In the four lesser towns or villages of Báh, Fatehabad, Itimádpur and Jagner a house-tax on well-to-do residents is levied under Act XX. of 1856. Though superintended by the Magistrate-Collector, its assessment is in the first instance effected by a committee (*panchâyat*) representing the townspeople.

Income and license-taxes.

The income-tax was abolished in 1872. In 1870-71, under the Act of 1870, this duty was assessed at the rate of six pies in the rupee on all profits exceeding Rs. 500 yearly. The actual assessment amounted, for the whole district, to Rs. 1,12,407. There were 1,725 incomes of between Rs. 500 and Rs. 750 per annum; 451 of between Rs. 750 and Rs. 1,000; 259 of between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,500; 111 of between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,000; 259 of between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 10,000; 26 of between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 1,00,000; and one of above Rs. 1,00,000. The total number of persons assessed was therefore Rs. 2,832; as compared with those of an English country, therefore, the private incomes of Agra are ridiculously small. The license-tax, imposed by Acts VIII. of 1877 and II. of 1878, yielded (gross produce) Rs. 35,769 in 1878-79, Rs. 39,679 in 1879-80, Rs. 45,440 in 1880-81, and Rs. 48,960 in 1881-82. The net produce in 1880-81 was Rs. 41,754, and in 1881-82 Rs. 42,930.

Excise.

Excise is levied under Acts XXII. of 1881 (repealing Act X. of 1871) and I. of 1878; and a brief account of the North-Western Provinces excise system has been given in the Cawnpore notice.[1] At the close of the year 1880-81 this district contained 67

[1] Gazr., VI., 157.

shops for the sale of native liquor and 19 for the sale of English spirituous drinks. There were working six licensed stills, and 11,146 gallons of country liquor were issued. The following table will show that the receipts of late years have been steadily progressive :—

Year.	Still-head duty.	Distillery fees.	License fees for vend of country liquor	Right of manufacture where farming system prevails.	License fees for vend of English liquor	*Drugs.*	*Madak* and *charas.*	*Tári.*	License fees for vend of excise opium.	Sale proceeds of excise opium at Rs. 8-12 per ser.	Fines and miscellaneous.	Gross receipts.	Gross charges.	Net receipts.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1875-76	3,033	11	2,889	1,413	224	15,128	2,559	308	...	29,120	35	54,719	5,150	49,270
1876-77	2,834	7	2,621	1,518	208	15,300	3,457	326	...	30,532[2]	42	56,934	5,562	51,371
1877-78	9,106	20	3,871	879	1,366	11,552	2,541	141	4,355	25,909	333	65,132	5,190	59,942
1878-79	12,346	25	16,150	1,510	1,302	12,870	2,600	252	3,843	24,885	102	75,885	4,474	71,412
1879-80	10,944	...	24,332	1,824	2,466	11,965	2,581	238	5,630	23,266	60	83,305	4,135	79,170
1880-81	10,971	...	20,722[1]	...	2,513	10,914	2,382	233	2,654	22,566	62	75,181	4,763	70,011

Struck on these six years, therefore, the average of the net receipts is Rs. 63,529 yearly.

Stamps.

Stamp duties are collected under the General Stamp Act (I. of 1879) and Court Fees Act (VII. of 1870). The following table shows, for the same period as the last, the revenue and charges under *this head* :—

Year.	Sale of stamps under General Stamp Act.	Sale of stamps under Court Fees Act	Total receipts.	Gross charges.	Net receipts.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1875-76	54,089	1,56,406	2,10,495	4,140	2,06,355
1876-77	52,214	1,65,109	2,17,323	4,571	2,12,552
1877-78	62,076	1,56,494	2,19,470	4,930	2,14,540
1878-79	52,165	1,65,674	2,17,839	4,019	2,13,820
1879-80	61,288	1,39,137	1,90,425	4,421	1,86,004
1880-81	65,020	1,30,402	1,95,422	6,344	1,89,704

[1] Includes Rs. 209-8-0, security money from the modified system. [2] This includes Rs. 1,762 realized in advance on account of fees on licenses to sell opium during 1877-78.

The average net receipts may therefore be set down as about Rs. 2,03,839 yearly.

Registration.

In 1881-82 fees to the amount of Rs. 7,917 were realised on the 6,515 documents registered under the Registration Act (III. of 1877). The expenses of establishment and other charges reached during the same year the sum of Rs. 5,935. The provincial registration reports do not show separately for Agra and Muttra the total value of property affected by registered documents. But that value amounted, for the two districts together, to Rs. 97,13,265, of which Rs. 46,19,226 represented immovable and the remainder movable property.

Judicial expenditure.

In connection with judicial expenditure we may note the number of cases usually tried in the year. Decided by criminal courts in 1881 were 4,282; by civil courts the same year, 6,768; and by revenue courts in 1880-81, 18,221.

Medical charges and sanitary statistics

The medical charges are in great part those incurred at the one central and the five branch dispensaries. At these institutions cases are treated and medicines dispensed by native doctors, under the general supervision of the civil surgeon. The central dispensary is of course at Agra. In quarters or suburbs of the same city stand the branch dispensaries of Lohe-ki-mandi, Dharmsála and Tájganj; while the two remaining establishments of this class are at Fatehpur-Síkri and Firozabad. But besides the dispensaries, in considering the medical resources of the district, we should mention the Thomason, the Rájputána Railway and the military hospitals, all at Agra. The only diseases which can be considered endemic are intermittent and remittent fevers. These are most prevalent just after the close of the rains and during the cold season. Generally due (writes Dr. Christison) to changes of temperature and insufficiency of clothing, they are in winter often accompanied by inflammation of the lungs. They attack all classes, but the poor of course suffer most. Cholera sometimes appears in the hot season; but is most severe during the rains, in the end of July and beginning of August. Here again the poorer classes are the principal victims. Small-pox is a winter visitant; and in some years, as for instance 1869 and 1878, has become a serious epidemic. But its ravages are nowadays somewhat checked by the operations of the Government vaccinator. In 1875-76 as many as 12,102 out of 14,113 such operations were successful; in 1876-77, 15,199 out of 17,804; 17,466 out of 19,039 in 1877-78; 16,584 out of 19,972 in 1878-79; in 1879-80, 7,229 out of 8,620; in 1880-81, 11,365 out of

12,565; and in 1881-82, 12,066 out of 12,804. The following table shows for five years the principal causes of mortality:—

Year.	Fever.	Small-pox.	Bowel complaint.	Cholera.	Other causes.	Total	Proportion of deaths to 1,000 of population.
1877	12,581	1,060	2,053	177	2,426	18,207	20·00
1878	38,738	3,445	6,889	532	9,243	58,842	64 32
1879	55,608	20	1,786	386	1,799	59,599	65 16
1880	19,092	179	1,327	7	1,681	22,886	23 95
1881	17,696	83	1,436	6	2,168	21,389	25·48
Average	28,862	957·4	2,698 2	221·6	3,463·2	36,202·4	43·70

The above table does not include the mortality of municipalities. The deaths in such towns amounted during 1877 to 5,233; during 1878 to 11,836; during 1879 to 9,660; during 1880 to 5,681; and during 1881 to 5,020.[1] It may be doubted whether the registration is as yet sufficiently accurate to justify a detailed comparison between the rates of mortality in town and country respectively. But during ordinary years the rate seems highest in towns; during years of famine, in the country. It will not fail to be noticed how high a rate prevailed in both town and country during the famine years of 1878-79. All that need be said on the subject of native medicine has been said above.[2]

History.

Following the plan of former notices, we close with a short account of the district history. Brevity is in this case, however, not as in some others the result of deficient material. From about 1517, when the Emperor Sikandar Lodi died there, till about 1757, when Clive's decisive victory called attention to the great white power that was rising elsewhere, Agra was one of the two or three chief centres of Indian history. During the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) its rival Dehli falls almost out of sight; and another place in this district, Fatehpur-Síkri, shares with Agra the hegemony of the cities of India. But for a few years in the beginning of the seventeenth century, after Fatehpur had been abandoned and before Jahángír had removed to Láhor, the district capital was the undisputed capital of the empire. About Agra's palmy days something has been said by nearly all the many Musalmán annalists of India, from the wide-seeing chroniclers who might almost be called historians to the Imperial historiographers, who were chroniclers of the smallest beer.[3] To do full justice to its history

[1] From these calculations the municipality of Jalesar, now transferred to Eta, has been excluded. [2] Pp. 133-34. [3] *Supra*, p 500.

would therefore require volumes; but the exigencies of time and space forbid more than a few pages.

The district in the earliest times a part of the Mathura kingdom.

Before the dawn of history the district probably belonged to the kingdom of Mathura. The south-Jumna tahsíls may be deemed part of the Brajmandal, that sacred circle of Braj which, in mythical times, witnessed the gambols of Krishna and his dairymaid harem.[1] With his name local legend connects no particular places; but the reputed founder of Súryapura or ancient Batesar, Rája Súryasena, is by Colonel Tod identified with Krishna's grandfather Sura.[2] With as much or as little likelihood, General Cunningham suggests that the first builder of Súryapura was Surasena, nephew of Ráma. This Súrasena was king of Mathura, and is said to have given his name to the Súraseni,a tribe mentioned as inhabiting that kingdom by Arrian. This "Second Xenophon," who flourished in the second century, mentions two capital cities on the Jumna, Mathurá (Methoras) and Clisobaras. But General Cunningham identifies the latter with Brindában of Mathura, and not with any place in this district.[3]

Antiquity of Batesar.

Another Surasena was a prince of the song-famed Pándu line; and to the Pándús is traditionally traced the name of Panáhat in the same tahsíl as Batesar.[4] Mr. Carlleyle, again, asks whether Surasena may not have been Súryasena, a Pramár king of Málwa, who flourished about A.D. 135. But as Súrya or Súraj, with or without some suffix, has been a common name amongst Hindús, and as we have no records of any kind to guide us, it seems futile to inquire who the actual founder of Batesar may have been. The fact remains that Súrajpur, as the Jains still call the place, is a town of great antiquity. On the neighbouring but different sites from which it has been removed owing to changes in the course of the Jumna various proofs of that antiquity have been discovered. Thus Colonel Tod's emissaries found here a coin of Apollodotus and some Parthian money. Mr. Carlleyle dug up several sculptures which might be either Buddhist or early Jain, and one fragment which he considers a genuine Buddhist relic. Any large discovery of undoubted Buddhist remains would tend to prove that Súrajpur was founded before the Christian era had attained the stage of four figures. On one of the Jain images appeared the date "*sambat* 1084" or "1094," that is, [5]A.D. 1027 or 1037. If, however, the Jain *Vrata sambat* be the era intended, this statue would be some four or six centuries older. Tradition says

[1] See Growse's *Mathurá* (ed. 1880), Chap. IV. [2] Trans. R.A.S., Vol. I., p. 314. Tod calls Sura "Surasena," which is apparently a slip of the pen. [3] *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. IV., pp. 222-244. [4] Mr Benson's notes. [5] *Supra*, p. 127.

that in ancient times a Hindu princess caused the Jain buildings of the town to be destroyed; and, with more ingenuity than plausibility, Mr. Carlleyle suggests that the legend really points to the persecution of expiring Buddhism by some invading race of Brahmanists. Another story tells how heaven once rained gold and silver and gems upon Súrajpur; but besides the remains just mentioned, and some ancient Hindu sculpture, Mr. Carlleyle found nothing of any importance. Wherever some deep ravine, with its almost perpendicular banks, showed him a section of the ground on which the town formerly stood, he saw "that from 20 to 30 feet in depth, it was almost entirely composed of ancient bricks of large size, tiles, pottery, small fragments of stone, the ashes of fires, and everything in fact that betokened human habitation prolonged for centuries upon centuries."[1]

Dearth of Buddhist remains.

At but one other place in the district did the Archæological Survey discover remains which were deemed decidedly Buddhist. This was the Búria or Búrhiya Tál, a reservoir on the Alígarh and Shikohabad road, in tahsíl I'timádpur. "From the discovery of certain small sculptures in the mud at the bottom of the *tál*," writes Mr. Carlleyle, "I am inclined to think that it must be the remains of some very ancient place, and that the name may possibly be derived from *Buddhi* or *Bodhi Tál*, which might signify either the *Buddhist Tank* or the *Tank of the Bodhi Tree*." In one of the sculptures a man and woman sit together under what is "evidently the Buddhist Bodhi-tree"; and in another appears "a strange conglomeration of legs and arms, one of which holds a Buddhist *chakra*." But trees, and the *chakra* or quoit, held by a deity of many arms, are found in Indian sculptures other than Buddhist. One of the images found at the same place is "thoroughly Jain;" and the difficulty of distinguishing between Buddhist and Jain sculptures is considerable. From Jagner in Khairágarh and from Khetlí-ghát on the Chambal, Mr. Carlleyle obtained cross-legged sitting figures which he could not pronounce certainly to be either Jain or Buddhist, but which were apparently one or the other. To the local historian the difference is important. Jain remains prove little, if anything, more than Hindu remains; for, like the Hindús, the Jains have not ceased to exist in India. We know that the Buddhists, on the other hand, disappeared before Musalmán conquest introduced the first attempts at Indian history; and the antiquity of Buddhist sculptures can, therefore, be fixed with greater exactitude. Their dearth in Agra, as compared with some neighbouring districts, is rather triking.

[1] *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, *IV.*, 228.

Probable antiquity of Agra.

The present city of Agra owes its greatness in history, and perhaps even its foundation, to the Musalmáns. But the evidence of ancient coins seems to show that some earlier town on the same site existed long before the reigning Hindús had ever heard of Muhammad's followers. Hamilton mentions[1] a Hindu legend that Agra was the scene of Vishnu's incarnation in the person of the Bráhman champion Parasuráma. Mr. Benson considers this myth to belong more properly to Runkutta, where there is a temple of Párasrám. But, being a myth only, it is of no greater value than the story which makes the god Indra, the Hindu "clerk of the weather," celebrate his victory over the demon Birthásur by festivities at Birthala pond in tahsíl Khairágarh. In his *Tárikh-i-Dáúdí* the chronicler 'Abdulláh associates Agra with Kans, the tyrant overthrown by another incarnation of Vishnu, Krishna. "The Hindús," he writes, "assert that Agra was a stronghold in the days of Rája Kans, who ruled at Mathurá; and who confined every one that displeased him in the fort at the former place, so that in course of time it became the established state prison."[2] The name of Agra is probably derived from the Hindi *agar*, a salt-pan; for the soil is brackish, and much salt was once made here by evaporation.[3] But the Indian antiquarian of the old school has, as usual, exerted his ingenuity to discover etymologies which may prove more suitable hooks on which to hang his legends. Thus a belief was once entertained that the city was founded by and called after the Agarwála Baniás so common in these provinces; while Tod considers the name to have some connection with that of the Aggrames mentioned by Quintus Curtius. This Aggrames was prince of the people called Prasii and the country called Gangárides. The fame of his arms barred Alexander's advance beyond the Satlaj. Now Ágrámes might mean lord of Ággrám, that is, the village of fire. This possibility suggests to Mr. Carlleyle two fresh derivations of the name Agra, *viz.*, *Agráj*, the kingdom of, and *agwara*, an enclosure for, fire.[4] "But there is another origin for the name; for *agr* or *agra* (derived from the Sanskrit) signifies *prior* or first, whence Agra might signify the *prior*, or *first city*; finally *agar*, in Sanskrit, signifies a house or habitation." Mr. Carlleyle is, however, the first to point out that such conjectures have no solid foundation.

Ancient silver coins found there.

Colonel Tod discovered at Agra some medals of uncertain age; and in 1869 over two thousand small silver coins were dug up there. On all of these latter appeared, in an ancient

[1] In his Gazetteer, *sub voce* Agra. [2] Elliot's *Historians* of India (Dowson's ed.), IV, 450. [3] Keene's *Handbook to Agra*, p. 1. [4] *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., 94-95. There is a market-village of Agwar some eight or ten miles north east of Agra, in tahsíl Fírúzpur.

western form of the Sanskrit character, the name "Srí Guhila," or "Guhila Srí." Now a certain Srí Gohádit or Guhila founded the Gahlot dynasty of Mewár, and flourished about 750 A. D. He was succeeded by a prince called Bhoj; and about three miles above Agra, on the right bank of the Jumna, may be seen the remains of a garden-palace attributed to a monarch of that name. But Mr. Carlleyle is inclined to consider the letters inscribed on these coins too antique for the reign of the Mewár Srí Guhila. Might not therefore the coins themselves, he asks, be money of Goha or Graháditya Gahlot, king of Saurásh-tra, who flourished some two centuries earlier; or even of Srí Guhula Pati of Narwar, an almost obscured light of the fourth or fifth century? The report goes on to suggest that the Agra of the Hindu period perhaps stood besides a since-deserted bed of the Jumna, ten miles south of the present city. But the present course of the river may, for all we know to the contrary, be thousands of years old. And if the site of modern Agra was not inhabited in Hindu times, how are we to account for the presence of the coins just mentioned? The stronghold of Bádalgarh, which once stood on or near the site of the present fort, bears an unquestionably Hindu name.[1] Mr. Carlleyle himself admits that, though apparently appropriated and altered by the Musalmán sovereigns of the Lodi dynasty, this Bádalgarh must have been first founded by Hindús. He himself thinks that some black basaltic pillars, once standing outside the water-gate of the fort, are the remains of some ancient Hindu or Jain building destroyed when the fort was built.[2] But this question should be set at rest by the evidence of Jahángír's autobiography. Before the building of Akbar's fort, writes Akbar's own son, the town was defended by a citadel of great antiquity.

The town perhaps sacked by Mahmúd of Ghazni, 1017 or 1022.

The invasions of Mahmúd of Ghazni, though Musalmán invasions, were merely transient episodes in the history of Hindu rule. It will be remembered that it was not until his ninth expedition, in 1017, that Mahmúd penetrated beyond the Panjáb; and that during this ninth expedition he sacked Mathura, Mahában, and other places neighbouring the Agra district. On his tenth inroad, in 1022, he visited Kalin-jar and Kanauj, being opposed at the outset of his operations by Jaipál II., king of Láhor.[3] It was perhaps during one of these two invasions that he attacked and sacked a place called Agra, of which a certain Jaipál was king. Our authority is the *Díwán* of the Persian poet Salmán, who died in 1126 or 1131. His description represents Agra as a great and important fortress; but, had it been such, we should probably have heard of it in other accounts

[1] See General Cunningham's note, p. 98 of *Arch. Surv. Reports, IV.* [2] *Ib.*, p. 217.
[3] Elphinstone's *History of India*, Book V., chap. 3.

of Mahmúd's exploits. It is of course possible that some later hand has substituted, in Salmán's verses, the name of Agra for that of another town. But Arga is the name in the extract quoted by Sir Henry Elliot.[1] We read: "The fortress of Agra is built amongst the sand, like a hill; its battlements are as hillocks. No evil had ever befallen its bulwarks; nor with it had Time the deceiver dealt guilefully. When it was encompassed by the army, the battle waxed warm with arrows and swords. At night, when the moon arose, the Amír of Agra, Jaipál,[2] came down from the crest of the rampart to the gate of the fortress."

Mahmúd perhaps besieges Chandwár also, 1017.

Probably on some such authority as this, the *Táríkh-i-Dáúdí* tells us that "when the army of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazni invaded Hindústán, he so ruined Agra that it became one of the most insignificant villages of the land.[3] It is almost certainly to Salmán that Jahángír refers when he mentions in his autobiography that Agra, even then a city of considerable magnitude, was praised by a poet of Ghazni in the reign of king Mas'úd II. (1098-1114). Mas'úd, be it noted, for some years held his court at Láhor.[4] Amidst the bleak ravines that fringe the left bank of the Jumna, in tahsíl Fírozabad, may still be seen the remains of what was once the redoubtable fort of Chandwár. It is possible, and even likely, that Mahmúd attacked this also. After the sack of Mathura he invested the stronghold of Chandpál, which Chandpál, its possessor and commandant, thereon abandoned,[5] managing apparently to escape. Now a rája Chandrapál or Chandpál was second in descent from that Chandrasen the Chauhán who founded Chandwár. The Bhadauriya traditions even assert that it was Chandrapál who founded the fort, while Chandrasen only founded the town. From the position which Chandpál occupies in the Bhadauriya pedigrees, he may very well have been a contemporary of Mahmúd.

Remains of castles in the Chandwár neighbourhood.

But the inroad of Mahmúd was, as already noted, a merely transient affliction; and for nearly two hundred years after his departure, until the permanent invasion of the Muslims, we can imagine the Chauháns holding uninterrupted sway in the country around Chandwár. This neighbourhood is rich in the remains of fortifications. Thus a considerable tract near the village of Kasaundhi, which stands 8 or 9 miles south-east of Túndla, is called Kasaundhi Garhi; "as if," writes Mr. Carlleyle,

[1] See his *Historians of India*, IV., 522-25. [2] Or Bathál. [3] Elliot's Historians, (Dowson's ed.), IV., 450. [4] Elphinstone, Bk. V., chapter 4. [5] Dow's Farishta, Vol. I.

"it had once been one great capital city defended by a series of forts" (*garhi*). This tract seems to extend over some five miles; and of the fifty-two castles with which legend defends it, many can still be traced. Of the bricks found in the ruins Mr. Carlleyle says that "they may at least be upwards of two feet or more in length and about eight inches in thickness." The natives declare with one accord that the castles were built by king Gaj; and the authority just quoted mentions three possible founders bearing that name. Gaja the Bhatti, father of Sálivá-hana, but evidently not of Sálivá hana the era-maker, flourished about B.C. 95; Gardharúpa, *alias* Gadh or Gaj, the father of Vikramáditya the era-maker, flourished about B.C. 90; and Gaj, founder of Garh Gajni, flourished about A.D. 15.[1] But in spite of the gigantic and unwieldy bricks that testify to the great antiquity of some of these fortifications, it is possible that others may be connected with the Chauhán dynasty of Chandwár. Gaj, "the elephant," or Gajpat, "lord of elephants," are not uncommon Hindu names which might well have been borne by one or more of the Chauhán princes. To readers of Thackeray Gajpat or Gajpati will be familiar as the title of the illustrious Major Gahagan, with whose valour this district was, by his own account, not unacquainted.[2]

The references to Mahmúd's invasion, doubtful though they be, are the only faint glimmerings of history which enlighten the Hindu period. The Persian historian Khondamír tells us, indeed, that during one of several invasions into India king Ibráhím of Ghazni (1058-89) took the fort of Azra;[3] and in a note on this word Professor Dowson remarks "probably Agra." But it seems almost certain that both Khondamír and Professor Dowson are wrong. It was the Ma'súd lately mentioned, and not his father Ibráhím, who invaded India. Ibráhím was probably too much occupied in prayer, in penmanship, and in looking after his 40 sons and 36 daughters, to think of any such arduous exploit. Khondamír himself visited Agra about 1530, and was probably well acquainted with the orthography of its name. Though English spelling was not yet uniform in the sixteenth century, Persian spelling was.

But if history is silent, legend has much to say. It fills many places now unimportant, with tales of "the pride of former days." Kágáraul, for instance, is said to get the last syllable of its name from a mighty Hindu king called Ror.

[1] Mr. Carlleyle (*Arch. Rep.* IV. 210) makes a curious mistake in fixing the date of the last Gaj, "slain," he writes, "in the year 72 after Vikramáditya, that is 72 years after B. C. 76, which is equal to B. C 3." The "76" is of course a slip of the pen for "57;" and Gaj therefore died, not three years before, but 15 years after Christ. [2] *The Tremendous Adventures of Major Gahagan*, by W. M. Thackeray. [3] *Habíb-us Siyar*, Dowson's Elliot, IV., 205.

Rájput immigrations.

The village itself stands on a mound composed of the *débris* of an ancient fort; and through its western side run the ruins of a strong and thick red sandstone wall. Old sculptures and coins, the former Hindu and the latter too much defaced to be identified, are often found there. The heights above Jagner in Khairágarh are covered with cairns, which Mr. Carlleyle believes to be the sepulchral remains of the aborigines. By the aborigines are meant of course the predecessors of the Hindús. Who those predecessors actually were, it is impossible to say; but they probably belonged to the stunted, black, Turanian race still found in the highlands of Central India. When ejected from the Jumna plain by Rájputs and other Aryan invaders, they would naturally have sought, as one of their last refuges in this district, the rocks of Khairágarh. Notwithstanding the antiquity of a Rájput kingdom at Mathura, the Rájput tribes now inhabiting the Agra district claim no very great longevity of settlement. The Morís of tahsíl Kiráoli assert their descent from some Sisodias who escaped through a drain (*mori*) from Chittaur during a siege of that renowned fortress. The derivation which they invent for their name is of course ridiculous. Their story gives no clue to the date of their arrival here; nor indeed, as the sieges of Chittaur have been rather numerous, to the date of their leaving that place. But it is remarkable that the Morís were the clan expelled from Chittaur by the Sisodias in A.D. 727.[1] It has been already noted[2] that one of the traditions of the Sikarwárs represents that tribe as occupying the neighbourhood of Fatehpur-Síkri in the beginning of the ninth century; and at the beginning of the eleventh, as just now shown, the Chauháns had probably taken up a strong position around Chandwár. The other tribes are for the most part of later standing. Some of the Rájput invaders seem to have encountered opposition from the Meos. And to the original inhabitants of the district the Meos were possibly akin.

Invasions of Musalmáns under Shiháb-ud-dín, 1194.

But when the twelfth century had entered its last decade, the Rájputs became suddenly aware of doughtier foes than the Meos. If, in 1191, the Chauháns of Chandwár heard with pride that their cousins of Dehli had defeated the fanatic Musalmáns under Shiháb-ud-dín, they must in 1193 have heard with equal alarm that Shiháb-ud-dín had hopelessly crushed the Dehli Chauháns, leaving Musalmán garrisons at Dehli and Koil (Aligarh). In the following year the conqueror advanced further down country, and overthrew the neighbouring Ráthor kingdom of Kanauj. The decisive battle was fought in the neighbour-

[1] Prinsep's *Antiquities*, quoted by Mr. Benson. [2] P. 483.

hood of Chandwár,[1] that is, either in this district or not far from its frontier. Whether the victorious emperor stopped to besiege Chandwár itself, or hastened on to seize the holy city of Benares, is uncertain. But in 1196 Biána was conquered and placed in charge of a Musalmán governor; the rock-fortress of Gwáliár surrendered not long afterwards; and if not already subjugated by the Musalmáns, this district was at least surrounded by them. The silence of history leads us to infer that it was occupied without much resistance, and that Chandwár, its one important fortress, was not long in submitting. Local tradition affirms, however, that this stronghold underwent a protracted siege.

Traditional siege of Chandwár.

"It is said," writes Mr. Benson, "that the fort, under Rája Chandrásen, held out 12 years against the imperial forces, it being under the special protection of a holy man, Sháh Súfí, who dwelt in the ravines near. The emperor at last asked his intervention; and three days being allowed to the rája to evacuate (which he did with his household goods, departing eastwards in boats), the fort was taken. The emperor is said to have built the mosque which still stands there." Chandrasen, be it observed in a parenthesis, was the founder of Chandwár, and probably flourished two centuries or more before Shiháb-ud-dín's invasion. The incident of the evacuation was, perhaps, copied from the history of Mahmúd's earlier attack on the fort of Chandpál. With the usual disregard of chronology, continues Mr. Benson, Sháh Súfí is said to have come from Isfahán in Akbar's time. "A more precise native account, by tahsíldár Sayyid Ikrám Ali, makes the rája's name Bhím Singh. He is described as rebelling against Shiháb-ud-dín and being defeated by him in 1204 A.D. This, I think, may be taken as the time of the fall of Chandwár.

Was it attacked by Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd or 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji?

"At Himmatpur on the boundary of Firozabad and I'timádpur is a very large *khera* or mound, said to be the site of an ancient Chauhán city destroyed by the Ghorí invaders. The surrounding Chauhán villages are all reputed to have sprung from this place. Tradition points to the Ghorí emperors as reducing other parts of Firozabad. In one account 'Alá-ud-dín is mentioned as the emperor; and of course 'Alá-ud-dín Ghorí would be the emperor at the beginning of a siege of 12 years ending in 1204. The only idea that suggests itself is that it may be 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji, a century later, that besieged Chandwár. We have certain trace

1 *Tabakát-i-Násiri*; Elliot's Historians, II. 297; *Táj-ul-Ma'asir*, quoted in Elliot's *Glossary*. Tarikhta says "between Chandwár and Etáwa" (Dow, Vol I.) But there is another account which makes the battle take place in the neighbourhood of Benares. And Shiháb-ud-dín certainly did follow up his victory by the capture of the latter city (Elphinstone, Bk V, chap. 4).

of the presence of 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji in this part of the country in an inscription in a mosque erected by him at Rápri, in Shikohabad of Mainpuri, in the year 1312. According to the account of the Bhadáwar family, Chandwár fell in sambat 1303, or A.D. 1246, the time of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd."[1]

The thirteenth century.

It is quite possible that Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, or 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji, or both, paid Chandwár one of those unwelcome visits which the earlier Musalmán emperors were in the habit of inflicting on their Rájput vassals. But that neither of them succeeded in permanently crushing the Rájputs of Chandwár we shall shortly see. Meanwhile it may be mentioned that in 1258 Násir-ud-dín appointed Kachlu, the brother of his prime minister, to be governor of Koil, Jalesar, Biána and Gwáliár. These tracts must between them have included the modern district of Agra. But, though that district was nominally a part of the Dehli empire, it is doubtful whether the Dehli emperors fulfilled any function of government except that of occasionally forcing the Rájput chiefs to pay tribute. The Rájputs themselves were probably allowed to work whatever wrongs they pleased on their weaker neighbours. Thus, according to their own traditions, the Panwárs continued in the thirteenth century those annexations which they had begun in the twelfth. Ruined watch-towers, scattered over the hills of Khairágarh, are perhaps a monument of the time when these invaders were less secure in their tenure of that tahsíl than they afterwards became.

Fourteenth century. Rise of the Bhadauriyas.

The next century, the fourteenth, is as regards this district singularly destitute of annals. Towards its close, during the reign (1390-94) of Násir-ud-dín Tughlak, some Chauháns from Chandwár seem to have ejected the Meos from tahsíl Panáhat and established a principality at Hatkánt. The Bhadauriyas, as the invading clan were afterwards called, place this invasion in the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, 150 years earlier; but Mr. Benson infers, from their own pedigree, that the later date is more likely to have been the true one.[2] About 40 years afterwards (1429-30) we begin to hear of the Hatkánt principality in history. During the reign of Mahmúd Tughlak (1394-98), while Dehli and the upper districts of these provinces were distracted by the invasion of Tamerlane, the Musalmán governor of Biána, Shams, took the opportunity of revolting.[3] His example was of course followed by his neigh-

[1] *Supra*, pp. 474-75. [2] The 213th chief in the pedigree is Chandpál, who, as already mentioned, was probably attacked by Mahmúd of Ghazni in 1018. The 239th is Rajju Ráút or Ráju Ráwat, founder of the Bhadauriya principality. Twenty-sixth in succession from Chandpál, Rajju can hardly have flourished so early as 1258, the date when he is alleged by his descendants to have annexed Panáhat. Again, the 246th chief is said to have flourished in Akbar's reign, which began in 1556. Can Rajju, the seventh predecessor of this chief, have flourished so early as 1258? [3] Dow's Farishta, Vol. II.

bours, including the Chauháns of Chandwár. And for some 15 years after Tamerlane's departure the authority of Dehli was disregarded.

Fifteenth century. The Sayyid dynasty, by repeated expeditions, restore the decayed authority of Dehli.

But on ascending the throne in 1414, Sayyid Khizr sent his general Táj-ul-Mulk down-country to restore order. After visiting Khor and Kampil, as above described,[1] Táj reaches this part of the empire. "The infidels of Gwáliár and Chandwár," says the *Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháhi*, "brought their money and taxes, and bowed their necks to the yoke of obedience. He (Táj) wrested Jalesar from the possession of the infidels of Chandwár, and gave it to the Musalmáns, who had formerly held it."[2] The revenue of Chandwár had been in arrears for some years. In 1416 Táj-ul-Mulk invaded Biána and Gwáliár, returning by way of this district, crossing the Jumna opposite Chandwár, and going on to Kampil and Patiáli.[3] But Khizr was not the only monarch of the Sayyid dynasty who exerted his authority in this neighbourhood. In 1426, after a successful expedition against the rebellious Musalmán governor of Biána, Sayyid Mubárak made a progress through the district. "Síkrí, which is now known as Fathpur, was entrusted to Malik Khair-ud-dín Tuhfa. The chiefs of Gwáliár and Chandwár made no resistance, but paid their revenue according to the old rule."[4] Later in the same year Mubárak crosses the Jumna at Chandwár and passes through the district in pursuit of Ibráhím, king of Jaunpur. After an indecisive battle with that rival he returns, levying tribute at Hatkánt from the Gwáliár and other chiefs.[5] Hatkánt was probably selected because it was the seat of the Bhadauriya rája, who held lands in Atter of Gwáliár, and may perhaps have been an ally or vassal of the Gwáliár ruler. Two or three years later (1429-30) Mubárak again appears, and after chastising the rebels of Gwáliár chastises those of Hatkánt. "The chief of Hatkánt was defeated and fled into the mountains of Jálhar. His country was pillaged and laid waste; many of its infidel inhabitants were made prisoners."[6] This may be considered the first historical mention of the Bhadauriya rájas.

But after the assassination of Mubárak (1435), the district again rejects the imperial authority.

After the assassination of Mubárak the district once more rejects the authority of Dehli. His successor Sayyid Muhammad despatches to Biána a new governor whom the old, an Afghán named Yúsuf Lodi or Joseph, the descendant of Lot, resists and slays. Biána then places itself under

[1] *Supra*, p. 141. [2] Dowson's Elliot, IV., 47-48. Dow's Farishta, Vol. II. The latter ascribes these acts to the minister Malik Jáfar, who perhaps accompanied the army. [3] Same authorities. [4] *Tabakát-i Akbari*, Dowson's Elliot, IV., 62. [5] *Ib.*, 64-65. [6] *Táríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi*, Elliot, IV., 67-68.

the protection and suzerainty of Mahmúd Khilji, king of Málwa (1446). Meanwhile Sayyid 'Alá-ud-dín has become emperor in name, but in little else. He sets out to recover Biána, but never reaches that province.[1] Stress is here laid on its vicissitudes not so much because it adjoins this district as because Agra is mentioned as being in this century "a dependency of Biána."[2] By "Agra" we must understand Agra without its north-Jumna tahsíls and Panáhat; for some Afgháns had possessed themselves of Chandwár and the neighbouring country, while the Bhadauriya chief was practically independent. We are told that in the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín (1444-50) Kutb Khán the Afghán held Rápri, Chandwár and Etáwa; while Biána was subject to Dáúd Lodi. Gwáliár and Bhadáwar had each its own rája.[3]

The Lodí dynasty re-attempt the subjugation of Agra;

On ascending the throne the Afghán house of Lodi began, as might be expected, to turn its attention to this part of the country, in which Afgháns of the same and other tribes had already acquired a considerable footing. In 1451 Bahlol Lodi reduced the Dúáb to subjection, allowing Kutb Khán to retain Rápri, but depriving him apparently of Chandwár.[4] It was at Chandwár that Bahlol next year encountered Hasan, king of Jaunpur. There followed a three years' peace; after which Hasan took Etáwa and succeeded in drawing over to his side the governor of Biána.[5] But the long struggle between Dehli and Jaunpur ended in 1478 with the complete annihilation of the latter; and from that year until about 1762, when made over to the Játs, Agra remained an integral part of the Dehli empire.

which is finally pacified by the emperor Sikandar, 1499.

At the outset of his reign, however, the next emperor Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517) found himself harassed by the opposition of two unruly brothers. One of these, named Álam, shut himself up in the fort of Chandwár. Sikandar dislodged him and pursued the insurgents eastwards.[6] But returning in 1491 he found Biána in rebellion. On the emperor's arrival the governor, Sultán Ashráf, professed submission; but, his sincerity being doubted, he was ordered to give up Biána in exchange for the fiefs of Márahra, Sakít, Jalesar and Chandwár.[7] Ashráf refused to obey this command; and, taking refuge in his fortress, prepared for a siege. His example was followed by one of his vassals, Haibat Khán Jalwáni, who raised the standard of revolt at Agra. After long and

[1] Dow's Farishta, II. [2] *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*, Dowson's Elliot V., 93. [3] *Makhzan-i-Afghání*, *ib.*, 74; Dow's Farishta, II. [4] *Makhzan-i-Afghání*, Dowson's Elliot, V., 78-80. Kutb Khán's son resisted and was taken prisoner, after which Kutb himself submitted. [5] Dow's Farishta, II. [6] *Ibid.* [7] The first three tracts are now a part of the Eta district Farishta calls Ashráf "Sharif." But the spelling of the *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*, from which the account of these events is taken, has been preferred.

sanguinary sieges both places were taken in 1492.[1] If we reject the somewhat doubtful passage quoted above from Salmán, this is the first historical mention of Agra. In 1499 the governor of Agra again revolted, but was suppressed. A year or two later the rebellious spirit displayed by the rájas of Dholpur and Gwáliár brought the emperor himself to Agra, and led, probably, to his fixing his court at that city.[2]

Agra becomes temporarily the capital of the empire, 1501.

Thus, in 1501, Agra became the capital of the empire. But for its promotion to that dignity the chronicler Ni'mat-ulláh assigns a more frivolous and altogether imaginary reason. He says that while sailing down the Jumna from Mathura, Sikandar asked his steersman which of the two heights before them was fittest for building. The steersman answered "That which is ahead (*Agra*)." Whereat the emperor smiled and said "The name of this town then, which I purpose to build, shall be Agra." It will be noticed that the same Sanskritic derivation is amongst those suggested above by Mr. Carlleyle; but Sir Henry Elliot truly remarks that the steersman is unlikely to have spoken Sanskrit. "It is evident, moreover, that Sikandar was not the founder of Agra, as is generally reported. It is even acknowledged to have been an old city before the time of the Afgháns, in the autobiography of Jahángír, whose veracity need not be impeached in passages where he has no occasion to indulge in the 'Ercles' vein' respecting the achievements of himself and his ancestors." [3]An annalist named 'Abd-ulláh tells us that Sikandar Lodi generally lived at Agra. "Some say that Agra became a city in his time, before which it had been a mere village, but one of old standing. It improved from the time of Sultán Sikandar; and at length, in Akbar's reign, became the headquarters of the Dehli empire and one of the chief cities of Hindustan."[4]

An earthquake at Agra, 1505.

One Sunday in July, 1505, while Sikandar was still reigning, the city was shaken by a mighty earthquake. "The very hills trembled, and lofty buildings were thrown down. The living thought that the day of judgment, the dead that the day of resurrection, hath come. No such earthquake had been known in Hindústán since the days of Adam, nor is any such recorded in the page of history."[5] In 1505 the turbulence of the Bhadauriyas drew the emperor south-eastwards to Hatkánt, which he scoured of robbers and "idolaters," that is, Hindús. "Having put to the sword the rebels of that tract, and established small military posts

[1] *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi of Ni'matulláh*, Dowson's Elliot, V., 92-93. [2] Dow's Farishta, II. [3] *Supplemental Glossary* (Beames's ed.), II., 209. [4] *Tárikh-i-Dáúdí*, Dowson's Elliot, IV., 450. [5] *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*, *ibid.*, V., 99.

at every place," he returned to Agra.[1] And at Agra, in 1517 or 1518, he died.[2]

and banditti at Hatkánt 1509.

His tomb is apparently at Dehli;[3] but near Agra he left other monuments to perpetuate his memory. After him was named the suburb of Sikandra, now best known as the site of Akbar's tomb. At Sikandra, in 1495, Sikandar built a palace (*báradari*), now called the tomb of the Lady Mary (*Mariam Begam*), because Akbar interred his so-called Portuguese wife therein. But at Agra itself no undisputed memorials of Sikandar exist. The old Bádalgarh castle, which he is said to have strengthened and enlarged, has been replaced by Akbar's fort; and Mr. Carlleyle doubts whether the mound of mural *débris* named the Lodi-Khán-ká Tíla can be really attributed to any of the royal family of Lodi.[4] All Afgháns bear the title of Khán; many Afgháns have belonged to the tribe of Lodi; and of the tribe of Lodi many have occupied high positions at Agra.[5]

Memorials of Sikandar Lodi at Agra.

Sikandar had no sooner been succeeded by Ibráhím than the latter's brother Jalál advanced on Agra with the intention of disputing the throne.[6] But Kálpi, Jalál's base of operations, was taken in his rear. He fled through Gwáliár to Málwa, but was captured by some wild highlanders of the Gond race, delivered up to Ibráhím, and privately executed.[7] Nothing further occurred to disturb the peace of the district until 1526, when Ibráhím was himself slain in "the Indian battle of Hastings," and the cavalry of his Turk conqueror Bábar spurred down country to seize the treasure at Agra. For Agra had lately been the imperial residence.[8]

Ibráhím Lodi, 1517-26.

A light brigade under the invader's son Humáyún soon appeared outside the city, which they lost no time in besieging. The main body of the army, under Bábar himself, reached the place not much later by regular marches; and after some little delay the garrison, which was composed of troops from Gwáliár, surrendered. As Bábar never spared those who had resisted, it is probable that fearful massacres followed. His quarters were at once removed from the palace of an Afghán noble outside, to Ibráhím's palace within the walls.[9] But, though Bábar had taken the town, he had not possessed himself of the district. The inhabitants of the

Agra surrendors to Bábar, 1526.

[1] Same authority, quoted in Elliot, V., 102; Dow's Farishta, II. [2] The exact year seems uncertain. See Erskine's *Bábar and Humáyún*, I., 407. [3] *Archæological Survey Reports*, IV., 99 (note by General Cunningham). [4] *Ibid.* (text). [5] From Farishta's list of the nobles in the reign of Ibráhím, the last Lodi emperor, it seems that they nearly all belonged to the Lodi or Lohání tribes. The Lodis and Lohánis are different races. They have been compounded by Marshman, but Major H. G. Raverty in a paper on *The Pathán Sultan of Dehli* has clearly shown that they are distinct. [6] Dow, II. [7] Erskine's *Bábar and Humáyún* (ed. 1854), I., 407. [8] Elphinstone, Bk. VI, chap. 3. [9] *Ibid*, Dow, II., and Erskine, I.

surrounding country cut off his foraging parties and stopped his supplies. Those inhabitants were supported on east, west and south by the combined resistance of the Afghán governors of Rápri, Gwáliár, Dholpur, and Biána. But when Bábar gave out that he intended to remain in India, and by founding in Agra city a new ward called Kábul showed that he was in earnest; when, moreover, he offered some of these governors conciliatory terms, his Musalmán opponents began to see the advantage of submitting to their powerful neighbour. The Hindús, however, made one great effort to repel the invader, and were crushed in 1527 at the battle of Kháuwa, near Biána in Bhartpur. This decisive action has by Elphinstone and others been miscalled the battle of Síkrí: perhaps, because Síkri is not far distant from Kháuwa, and was probably called Fathpur in honour of the victory (*fath*).[1] But other reasons for the title of Fathpur are given. Thus Jahángír tells us that Akbar bestowed that title in commemoration of some recent conquests in Gujarát.[2]

Bábar dies at Agra, 1530.

Just before the battle of Kháuwa one Kutb Khán, perhaps a descendant of the former governor so named, took advantage of Bábar's difficulties to seize Chandwár.[3] After the battle this Kutb probably made himself scarce; and for the rest of Bábar's reign we hear of no further Afghán resistance to the new dynasty in this neighbourhood. But Bábar's reign did not last long. He died at Agra in 1530, in consequence, as was supposed, of his having prayed to God to take his life instead of his son Humáyún's. Humáyún, who was nearly dead with a dangerous illness, recovered as his father sank.[4]

Agra city in the days of Bábar and Humáyún, where situate.

Bábar was buried at Kábul; but before his body was carried to its distant tomb it rested awhile in either the Rám-bágh or the Chahár-bágh.[5] Many such old gardens, the suburban retreats of great people of the past, may be found in the neighbourhood of Agra. Square enclosures with high masonry walls, they were often flanked, on one side, by a large villa or garden-palace. But the Rám-bágh and the Chahár-bágh lie on the left bank of the Jumna, the side facing that on which Agra stands. Mr. Carlleyle, and after him others, have suggested that the Agra of Bábar and Humáyún was built on this opposite shore of the river, and not on the same side as the preceding city of the Lodís or the succeeding city of Akbar. The grounds on which this theory is based are not historical, but may be summarised as follows:—

[1] Same authorities. [2] See also above, p. 407, *ad fin.* [3] *Tuzak-i-Bábari*, Elliot, IV, 270. [4] See Elphinstone's History, Bk VII., chap. 1, where a picturesque account of all the circumstances is given. [5] Keene's *Handbook* (ed. 1878), pp. 1, 30. In support of the claims of the Chahar-bágh Mr. Keene refers to the *Akbarnáma*.

(1) The only two foundations which traditions agree in ascribing to Bábar, the Chahár-bágh and the Zahara-bágh, are both on this left bank of the Jumna. The Chahár-bágh, which Bábar is said to have enclosed for his own use, still shows the traces of walls and the foundations of large buildings. The remains of the Zahara-bágh villa, which he is believed to have built for his daughter Zahara,[1] belong architecturally to his period. This Zahara-bágh must not be confused with the Dhahara, Dehra or Zahara garden, which lies on the same side of the river as modern Agra, and is far the largest enclosure of the kind near that city. The Dhahara-bágh also is sometimes attributed to Bábar; but there are not wanting authorities who say that it was the work of Jahángír or Sháhjahán.[2] Mr. Keene calls it the garden of Akbar's sister Dahara. It seems not unlikely to have been constructed by Sháhjahán for his daughter Dhahara, in bearing whom his favourite queen Mumtáz-i-Mahal died.

(2) In the village of Kachpura, near the Chahár-bágh and on the same bank of the river, stands a ruined mosque bearing an inscription which shows it to have been built by Humáyún in the year of his father's death.

(3) The large village of Núníhái on the same bank, about two miles east of the East Indian Railway goods-station and of the tomb of Itimád-ud-daula, is covered with mounds of bricks and traces of ancient buildings. Local legend asserts these to be the remains of the former and older city of Agra. South of Núníhái, again, may be traced the walls of another large garden called the Achának-bágh. This is bounded on its river front by the ruins of a large building, said to have been occupied by a princess Achának at the time when Agra stood on the site of Núníhái.

(4) In the same neighbourhood are visible certain long lines of raised earth and mound scattered over with bricks. These are perhaps the remains of fortifications; and Mr. Keene tells us that Bábar is believed to have lived in an old fort on this side of the river.

For these reasons[3] Mr. Carlleyle thinks that Núníhái, Kachpura, the Zahara-bágh, and their vicinage were the real site of Agra during Bábar's reign and at least the first part of Humáyún's. In other words, the city of that period is said to have occupied, not the shore of the bay on which it stood

[1] This princess was probably called after her father, whose name was *Zahír-ud-dín Muhammad*. Bábar or "the Lion" was merely his Tartar sobriquet. See Mr Cowell's first note to chap. 1 of Elphinstone, Bk. VII. [2] Mr. Carlleyle quotes the *Tafzíh-ul-'Imárat* of Siyál Chand, who says Jahángír; and the *Ta'mírat-i-Agra* of Rájá Rám, who says Sháhjahán. [3] Sifted from other matter contained in the IVth volume of the *Archæological Survey Reports*, pp. 100-112. But Mr. Carlleyle's reason for inclining to the belief that Bábar's first residence at Agra was the Achának-bágh has been omitted, as being ingenious rather than sufficient. "*Achának* in Hindi signifies *of a sudden*, and might thus indicate such an *impromptu* residence hurriedly constructed, as I have ventured to attribute to Bábar on his first capture of Agra."

before or afterwards, but the opposite promontory. It may be granted at once that on that promontory Bábar constructed a garden and pavilion. Both are described at some length in the highly coloured memoirs of his great-grandson Jahángír. The garden, we are told, contained an avenue two *kos* long, a pond one *kos* in circumference; and into it were imported, from "the island of the Franks," the first pine-apples seen in Hindústán. But the existence of Southwark and Lambeth does not disprove the simultaneous existence of London and Westminster respectively; and it seems possible to grant the construction of a court suburb on the left bank of the Jumna without asserting the destruction or abandonment of the older capital on the right. If merely abandoned, that older capital would have little time to become ruined between 1526 and the days of Salím Sháh (1545-53), who built on or near its site.

Humáyún's first reign (1530-40).

During the first reign of Humáyún (1530-40) Agra was more often the seat of government than Dehli. Whenever his enemies gave him breathing-time it was at Agra that he rested. Agra was the starting-point of his campaigns and his refuge in defeat. The first local disturbance with which he had to deal was the invasion of Tátar Khán Lodi in 1534. At the head of a large but hastily-collected force Tátar marched through Biána and penetrated to the neighbourhood of Agra. In the battle which followed most of his troops fled; while he and a few staunch adherents fell fighting.[1] But next year Humáyún was recalled from Gujarát to Agra by the news of a most serious Afghán rebellion. During a visit to Bábar's court at Agra Shír Khan had formed the ambitious project of restoring the Afghán empire, with himself as emperor;[2] and he was now putting that project into execution. Conscious of the magnitude of the struggle in which he was about to engage, Humáyún entrusted the government of Agra to the paymaster Mír Muhammad, and himself set out to attack Shír Khán in Benares, Bihár and Bengal.[3] A long campaign ended in 1539 with the complete defeat of the emperor at Chaunsa; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Humáyún succeeded in making good his retreat up-country to Agra.[4] Here his brother Hindál had set himself up as an independent ruler. But on the arrival of the emperor Hindál submitted and was pardoned. Next year Shír Khán again defeated Humáyún near Kanauj.[5] Humáyún again managed to escape to Agra, whence he fled with the most portable part of his treasure to Láhor. His adventures for the next fifteen years form no part of the history of this district. Meanwhile Shír Khán took possession of Agra and Dehli and reigned in his stead.[6]

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. VII.; Dow., Vol. II. and Elphinstone, Bk. VII. [2] Erskine, II. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Supra*, p. 148. [6] Elphinstone, VII.; Dow., II.

Shír Khán, or Shír Sháh as we must now call him, made Agra his head-quarters.[1] Here, in the fort afterwards replaced by Akbar's he is said to have built himself a palace;[2] but the real builder was probably his son Salím or Islám Sháh. In the Núi-ki-Mandi quarter at Agra stand, corner to circumference, the mosque and the tomb of Aláwal Baláwal or Sháh Viláyat. This Sháh Viláyat, whose real name seems to have been Sayyid 'Alá-ud-din, was a holy Arab who in Shír's reign came from Madína to India. His mosque has sunk to the ground up to the springing of its central arch. This fact is explained by the legend that one of Shír's camel-drivers had, with his master's consent, but in defiance of Sháh Viláyat's expostulations, stabled his beasts in the mosque. The building thereon sunk until it had crushed and killed the camels; nor did it stop sinking until the saint cried "enough!" He is said to have died in 1546.[3] In pursuance of his admirable policy of enforcing the security of life and property throughout his domains, Shír brought 12,000 horsemen from Sirhind and quartered them in the Hatkánt country, which seems to have been infested by turbulent Bhadauriya robbers.[4]

Shír Sháh, 1540-45.

He was succeeded in 1545 by his younger son Salím. This prince had no sooner ascended the throne than he wrote inviting his elder brother 'Ádil to come and meet him in his district. His probable intention was to murder the rather feeble 'Ádil; but certain of the principal nobles having pledged their faith for 'Ádil's safety, 'Ádil left Rantambhor and came. "When he reached Fatehpur Síkri, Islám (Salím) Sháh came forth to meet him in the village of Singárpur, the place prepared for the conference; and they had an interview there."[5] Hence, after mutual professions of affection, they set out for Agra. Disobeying Salím's orders, a strong body of 'Ádil's retainers followed their master into the fort. Thwarted thereby in his projects of foul play, Salím gave his brother the fief of Biána and let him depart. But accompanied by Khawás Khán, one of the chiefs who had stood security for his safety, 'Ádil not long afterwads marched towards Agra, intending to depose Salím. At Fatehpur-Síkri 'Ádil and Khawás went to visit the holy hermit Shaikh Salím Chishti, now mentioned for the first time. At Fatehpur-Síkri, writes Mr. Keene, is still shown a door purporting to be the entrance of the cave in which the saint then lived; whilst hard by stand the mosque built for his devotions by the pious stone-cutters of the neighbourhood, and the portico in which, like a sophist of old Athens, he taught his

Salím Sháh, 1545-53.

[1] Erskine, II. [2] Fergusson's *Indian Architecture*. [3] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 174-77; Keene, 41. [4] *Tarikh-i-Shár Sháhí*, Dowa's Elliot, IV., 416-17. [5] *Tárikh-i-Dáúdi*, Elliot, IV., 481-84.

disciples. 'Ádil afterwards joined battle with his brother at Midhákúr; but being defeated, fled across the Jumna through Chandwár. After taking refuge in Bihár he was never heard of again.[1] In this description two points are noticeable: firstly, that at the beginning of Salím's reign there was a fort at Agra; secondly, that Síkri is already called Fatehpur. Mr. Keene believes that Salím was the actual founder of the fort replaced by Akbar's; but if Salím did found any fort it was probably not called Bádalgarh, which as already mentioned is a Hindu name.[2] It is a confirmation of Mr. Keene's belief that Salím surrounded Agra with a wall.[3] He was a great builder: and at Dehli, where he sometimes lived, built the Salímgarh. It has been already noticed, with regard to Síkri, that the time when that town received the name of Fatehpur is a disputed point.

Muhammad Sháh Ádil, or Adali, 1553-55.

The next emperor, best known by his nick-name of Adali or Blockhead, obtained the crown by murdering his brother Salím's son, in 1553. But, knave as well as fool, he had not ruled a year before Nemesis, in the shape of his kinsman Ibráhím Súr, expelled him from both Agra and Dehli. The rebellious example was followed by another kinsman, Sikandar Súr, who proclaimed himself king of the Panjáb, and in his turn seized Dehli and advanced upon Agra. Ibráhím met this new rival at Farah in Mathurá, late a village of this district. "Sikandar's army," says the *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, "did not exceed 10,000 horse; but Ibráhím had 70,000 horse and 200 gentlemen to whom he had given velvet tents, banners, and kettledrums." Sikandar therefore offered peace, on condition of receiving the government of the Panjáb. But confident in the superiority of his forces, Ibráhím rejected these overtures. The result was his own defeat and flight. Sikandar then occupied Agra; but was almost at once recalled to the Panjáb by the news of Humáyún's invasion. Adali's prime minister Hímu, a green-grocer who had assumed the sounding title of Rája Bikramájit, seized the opportunity thus offered of regaining the city for his master. Advancing on Agra simultaneously with Ibráhím, he defeated that rebel under the walls and pursued him to Biána. But while Hímu was returning to Agra, on his way to quell another rebellion in Bengal, Ibráhím followed and overtook him. An

[1] *Ibid*; but the authority for 'Ádil's flight across the Jumna through Chandwár is the *Makhzan-i-Afghání*. For Midhákúr Dowson writes Márhákár; Dorn, Mundágur. See also Elphinstone, Bk. VII., Erskine, Vol. II, and Dow, Vol II. [2] See Keene's *Hand-book*, p. 10. "The story told by native historians is that Salím was out hunting and had loosed a leopard (*chíta*) upon a fox which he was following on horseback along the river-shore. When he got near the site of the present Amar Singh gate, he saw that the fox had recovered wind and escaped. He immediately called out that the air of that place must be very good, and he would build there a residence. It was accordingly built, and called Bádalgarh." The same story is in some form or other, however, told of many towns in these provinces. See, for instance, above, p. 151, *ad fin.* [3] Erskine, II.

action was fought at Midhákúr,[1] Ibráhím being again defeated; and Hímu marched on to Bengal. During his absence Humáyún defeated Sikandar in the Panjáb, took Dehli, and sent forward a light force which occupied Agra (1555).[2]

In his reign Agra suffers from a famine and explosion.

Thus ended, so far as this district was concerned, the tangle of civil wars known as the reign of Adali. But of that reign civil wars were not the only afflictions. In it Agra was visited by a dreadful famine and a dreadful explosion. The territories most severely affected by the famine were this district, Biána and Dehli. "One *ser* of the grain called *joár*," says the *Táríkh-i-Badáyuní*, "rose to 2½ *tankás*; and even at that price could not (at one time?) be obtained"[3] The same authority describes the explosion as occurring during the war between Sikandar and Ibráhím, just before Adali left Agra: that is, probably, just before Ibráhím drove Adali out of Agra, and therefore before Sikandar had appeared as a combatant at all. Adali had ordered some of his officers to prepare the fort for a possible siege. "Early one morning, as they were going their rounds with a lamp, a spark fell by chance into a room filled with gunpowder. In the twinkling of an eye it ignited and arose to heaven. The earth quaked, so that the inhabitants of the city thought that the Day of Judgment had come; and, roused thus suddenly from their slumbers, prayed devoutly. Planks, huge stones and columns, were sent flying several *kos* to the other side of the Jumna; many people were destroyed; and the limbs of men and of animals were blown away full ten or twelve miles."[4] It need hardly be pointed out that this description contains exaggerations.

Humáyún's second reign, 1555-56; and accession of Akbar in latter year.

During his brief second reign Humáyún lived at Dehli, where also he died and was buried (1856). On his death Hímu again marched up-country, and leaving Adali at Chunár besieged Agra. The place surrendered; but on the 5th November, in the same year, Hímu was defeated in the Panjáb by the forces of Akbar, the son and successor of Humáyún. Akbar, a boy in his fourteenth year, soon afterwards took possession of both Dehli and Agra.[5] Throughout his long reign, which lasted till 1605, this district was the head-quarters of government.

[1] "Marhákár, six *kos* from Agra," *Táríkh-i-Dáúdí*; "Mandákar," *Tabakát-i-Akbarí*.
[2] The authorities for this paragraph have been *Tabakát-i-Akbarí*, Elliot, V., 243-44; *Táríkh-i-Dáúdí*, *Ibid.*, IV., 507; Erskine, II; Dow, II., and Elphinstone, Bk VII. [3] Elliot, V., 490.
[4] *Ibid.*, 491. For the length of a *kos* in this district see above, "weights and measures" The explosion is described as occurring in 962H, or 1555 A.D.; but a year earlier would better suit the conditions which the *Táríkh-i-Badáyúní* itself gives us. [5] Elphinstone, Bks. VII. and IX.

On arriving at Agra Akbar is said to have cantoned himself about a mile and a quarter west of the great mosque called the 'Ídgáh, on the spot now occupied by the villages of *Sultánpur* and Khawáspur. The first is supposed to derive its name from the Emperor or *Sultán* himself, the last from his *Khawáss* or attendants.[1] But for many years the young ruler was too much occupied in reconquering India to think of making any permanent residence in this district. The district itself was soon pacified. In 1559, indeed, the Bhadaurias raised up some disturbances in Panáhat; but their rebellious chief was defeated by the emperor's foster-brother Adham, and trampled to death by elephants.[2] In 1562 Adham, to whom at least a part of the Bhadauria domains had been granted, stabbed the prime minister as he was praying in the room next to Akbar's at Agra. The emperor was at first for slaying the murderer with his own hand; but on cooling down caused Adham to be thrown from the lofty building where the murder took place.[3] About five years afterwards Akbar turned his attention towards the fortifications of Agra. The old city wall, mentioned above as built by Salím Sháh, must still have existed; and, if the same as that whose remains are now visible, would have had a breadth of from 4 to 5 feet, with a circumference of about 9¼ miles.[4] But, shaken probably by the earthquake of 1505 and the explosion of some fifty years later, the old brick citadel or fort within the wall had become ruinous. In 1567, therefore, Akbar ordered his Lord High Admiral (Kásim Khán) to replace it with a new fort of hewn stone; and the building was completed four years later.[5] After storming Chittaur in 1568 the emperor conveyed its bronze gates to his own unfinished stronghold, where they may still be seen. At the same time Akbar caused colossal statues of two elephants, ridden respectively by representations of the rája of Chittaur and his brother, to be put up outside the river gate of Agra fort. These statues were afterwards seen by Bernier at Dehli; but a similar pair of sculptures still guard one of the gates at Fatehpur-Síkri.[6]

Akbar takes up his quarters at Agra, 1556.

and founds a new fort there, 1567.

It has been already noticed that the place last named was inhabited by the famous hermit Shaikh Salím Chishti. To this Shaikh Salím Síkri owed, in 1570, its promotion to the dignity of an imperial residence. Akbar had married a Hindu princess of the Amber or Jaipur family, and she had borne him some short-lived twins.

He founds a city wall and a palace at Fatehpur-Síkri, 1570.

[1] *Arch. Surv* Reports, IV, 112-13. [2] See authorities quoted above, p 476. [3] Elphinstone, IX., 1. [4] *Arch Surv.* Reports, IV., 115-18 [5] *Tabakát-i-Akbarí*, Elliot, V., 295; Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbarí*, I., 380; Keene's *Handbook*, 16. [6] Keene, 88.

"They died," writes Mr. Keene,[1] "just about the time when Akbar, returning from the campaign against his revolted Uzbak nobles, halted at the foot of the (Sikri) rock in 1569. On the top resided Shaikh Salim, called Chishti after his spiritual father, who came from Chisht in Persia. The holy man persuaded the royal couple to take up their abode in his neighbourhood; and such was the salubrity of the air, joined, we are assured, to the hermit's spiritual exertions, that a son was born to them during their stay,[2] and endowed by the grateful parents with the name of Salim. This name the prince continued to bear for the next five and thirty years, till raised to the throne in 1605 as the Emperor Jahángír. The legend mentioned in the account of the Agra Fort, to the effect that its foundation was owing to persuasions on the part of Salim Chishti, must be taken with one correction. Akbar's head quarters were at Agra when the Fatehpur palace was begun, and the commencement of the fort at Agra dates three years earlier than that beginning. Legend explains these events in its usual marvellous fashion. At the time of the royal visit the hermit, it is said, had a baby son aged six months, who, seeing his father buried one day in deep reflection after a visit from Akbar, suddenly broke silence by asking why he sent away the conqueror of the world in despair. Accustomed to portents, the holy man calmly answered that all the emperor's children were fated to die in infancy unless some one gave a child of his own to die instead. 'By your reverence's permission,' rejoined the courteous but forward infant, 'I will die that His Majesty may no longer want an heir.' Then, without waiting to give his father time to forbid the sacrifice, the wondrous child at once expired. Nine months later the prince came into the world. If it were worth while to look for the truth in this story, it might be found that the prince was a child substituted by the *faqír* for a royal infant that was still-born. But it is mere waste of time to guess without facts, and the allusion is only here suggested because there is a child's tomb, shown as the *faqír's* child's, at the back of the great mosque; and those who prefer the appearance of solid ground may like to ponder that or any less charitable solution."

Completion of the palaces at Agra and Fatehpur-Sikrí, 1571.

If Shaikh Salim advised Akbar to build a fort at all, Fatehpur-Sikri was probably the site recommended. Traces of unfinished fortification, such as the *Sangín Burj*, still exist there. But the wall with which Akbar enclosed the villages of Fatehpur and Sikri is, though seven miles in circumference, unfortified. Within it rise the rocky ridge on which Shaikh Salim dwelt, and the palace and mosque reared in honour of Jahángír's birth.[3] The year 1571, which witnessed the completion of the Agra fort, witnessed also the completion of the palace within that fort and the palace at Fatehpur-Sikri.[4] The great mosque at the latter place is inscribed, on its main arch, with the same date; and was probably finished, therefore, not long before Shaikh Salim's death early in 1572.[5] About the same time the Panwárs of Khairágarh founded the town of Jagner, an inscription showing that its castle was built in 1572 by the local rája. In 1579 was working at Fatehpur-Sikri an imperial mint, of which Khwája 'Abd-us-Samad was

[1] *Handbook*, pp. 46-47. [2] At the time of the birth, according to the *Tabákát-i-Akbarí* (Elliot, V., 334), the emperor had temporarily removed to Agra, leaving his wife in Shaikh Salim's house. [3] Keene, 5 and 47. [4] *Tárikh-i-Badáyúní*, Elliot, IV, 499. [5] The *Tárikh-i-Badáyúní* (*ib.*) says that Shaikh Salim died in 979 Hijri, which approximately corresponds with 1571; but Mr. Beale fixes the event on the 13th February, 1572.

manager.[1] The white marble tomb which Akbar raised over Shaikh Salím's grave at that place was probably left unfinished until after the Emperor's victorious return from Kábul in 1581. That date is inscribed on the inner wall.

Which was Akbar's capital, Agra or Fatehpur-Síkri? Popular tradition answers that the emperor at first made Síkri his head-quarters, but that, finding that place unhealthy, he removed in 1566 to Agra. We have already seen that this assertion is wrong. Akbar's first head-quarters were at Agra, where in 1567 he founded the fort. He did not begin building at Síkri until 1570. Nor, when the fort and palace at Agra were completed, did he wholly abandon Síkri, where he continued building from time to time until the end of his reign. The truth seems to be that when Jahángír was born there, Akbar took a liking to Síkri, and built there a sort of Home-country residence to which he could retire when weary of his capital Agra. The 23 miles between the two places can have been nothing to a man who once rode the 220 miles between Ajmer and Agra in two successive days.[2] Síkri then was probably his Windsor, Agra his London. But that he should ever have thought of transferring his capital from the shore of the navigable Jumna to the neighbourhood of the torrent Utangan is in the highest degree unlikely.

European Christians at Agra in this reign.

In Akbar's reign European Christians, chiefly priests, began to visit the district, and the Roman Catholic establishment at Agra was founded. One of Akbar's own wives is said to have been a Portuguese lady named Mary, but tradition is here probably at fault, and the lady was, it is almost certain, a Kachhwáhin princess of Jaipur who bore the title of *Mariam-i-Zamán*, the Mary of the Age.

Rája Bírbal and his palaces.

Bírbal died in 1586. His little villa, which is more likely perhaps to have belonged to his daughter,[3] is one of the gems of Fatehpur Síkri. The remains of two palaces said to have been built by him may still be seen in the Home-tahsíl. One, called the Háns Mahal, occupied a fine and commanding position on a promontory that runs out into the Jumna near Swámi ferry, some 10 miles north-west of Agra. The other was at Samogar or Samonghar, about 9 miles east of that city.[4] The same Samogar became in 1658 the field of a battle which will be hereafter noticed.

Abú l-Fazl and Faizi.

Abú l-Fazl and Faizi were both born and bred at Agra. Their houses at Fatehpur Síkri still exist and have been turned into a boys' school. The poet Faizi, who was presented

[1] Blochmann's *Ain*, I., 495.
[2] Elphinstone, Bk. IX., Chap. 2.
[3] Keene, 51.
[4] *Arch. Survey.*, IV., 120-27.

to Akbar in 1568, and himself presented his brother six years later,[1] is said to have been buried in the same tomb as his sister Ladlí Begam, near Agra. This tomb used to stand about a mile north of 'Álamganj; but has been removed by the Mathura Seths, who bought the enclosure containing it. The enclosure has high embattled walls and a fine entrance gateway, which its inscription shows to have been built in 1596.[2] Some of the buildings at Fatehpur Síkri were inscribed with lines of Faizi's writing. He composed also some verses which Akbar attempted to recite from the pulpit of the great mosque there in 1579. The emperor had wished to appear as the chief priest of his own peculiar religion, and as such to read the public litany. After stammering and stopping in the prayer, he uttered three of the verses; but here stage fright or modesty overcame him, and he abruptly descended.[3]

The 1596

Abú-l-Fazl's *Institutes of Akbar*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, throw some light upon the condition of the district in 1596. Agra was then the capital of a province (*súba*) and of one of the governments (*sarkár*) of that province. In this government lay the whole of the modern district.[4] Fatehpur Síkri was not the capital of a government or even of a district (*dastúr*); but merely the chief town of one of the small sub-divisions called pargaunas. To pargaunas, likewise, Hatkánt and Chandwár gave their names: but as both places had already received a place in history, Abú-l-Fazl merely confirms what we already knew of their antiquity. At Hatkánt was a "brick fort;" but the old castle at Chandwár, which the *Institutes* call Janwár, seems to have disappeared. The inhabitants of the neighbouring Súffpur say that it was in Akbar's reign that their patron saint Sháh Súfí lived; that Akbar was the emperor whose attacks that saint enabled the rája of Chandwár to withstand. It is improbable, however, that any rája of Chandwár existed in Akbar's reign; and still more improbable that any such rája, if he existed, should have ventured to oppose Akbar. Another tradition asserts that Fírozabad was founded in consequence of a visit paid to its site by Akbar's finance minister, Rája Todar Mal. But it has been already mentioned,[5] on the authority of Sir Henry Elliot, that Fírozabad was not founded until the reign

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. IX., Chap. 3. [2] *Arch. Survey*, IV., 122-23. Mr Keene, however (p 39), says that "the chronogram has not been deciphered" Ladlí Begam was the wife of Islám Khán, a grandson of Shaikh Salím Chishtí; and her husband's mausoleum is at Fatehpur Síkri. She did not herself die till 1608; and her tomb must have been built, as not unusual in those days, before her death. [3] *Tarikh-i Badáyúní*, quoted by Keene (p. 49) Akbar's new religion, the Divine Faith, is by Mr Blochmann characterized as a monotheistic Pársí-Hinduism One of its main features was sun-worship. It died with its author, who, relying solely on his personal influence and example, had established no priesthood and appointed no successor See Blochmann's *Ain*, pp 162-213. [4] See also above, pp. 405-08 [5] P. 408, *ad fin.* The Rája's Reservoir a few miles west of Fírozabad is said to have been called after Rája T. M.

of Sháhjahán. In 1596, at all events, Fírozabad had not yet superseded Chandwár as the town from which the including pargana took its name. But the most important information given by the *Institutes* is, perhaps, that which refers to the races by whom the soil of the district was held. Four hundred years had passed since the Musalmán conquest, yet the possession of the land was almost confined to Hindús. Wishing rather, perhaps, to tax squires and farmers than to become squires and farmers themselves, the conquerors had restricted themselves to the professions of arms and of statecraft. The only neighbourhood in which they seem to have held much land was that of Fatehpur Síkri, where the emperor had made considerable grants to the descendants of Shaikh Salím Chishti. The greater part of the district was owned by Rájputs, but in the west and north were a good many Ját proprietors. The country south of Agra city was held by Lodhás, who have since then lost most of their possessions to Rájputs of different tribes.[1]

Intrigues of prince Salím, afterwards emperor, 1600.

In 1600 prince Salím, afterwards the emperor Jahángir, took advantage of Akbar's absence in the Dakkhan to seize Hindústán for himself. From Ajmer he marched on Agra; but the governor of the latter place contrived to elude his demands for its surrender, and Salím departed for Allahabad. On hearing this news the emperor of course returned to Agra; and Salím thereon advanced as far as Etáwa, with the professed intention of paying his father a submissive visit. But the prince had with him a large force. He was therefore ordered to approach slightly attended or to return to Allahabad; and he preferred the latter course. It was several years before father and son were reconciled.[2] On his return from the south Akbar erected the Buland Darwáza or high gateway at Fatehpur Síkri.

Akbar builds the great gateway at Sikri, 1601.

The inscription, which is dated 1601, perhaps took its tone from the lines which S'adi tells us were inscribed over the gateway of the palace of Farídún.[3] In it occur the following reflections on the vanity of human affairs: "Said Jesus, on Whom be peace. The world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house there. * * The world is but an hour, spend it in devotion . the rest is unseen." "Thy best possession is what thou hast given in alms; thy best traffic is selling this world for the next." "Know that this world is a glass where the favour has come and is gone: take as thine own nothing more than what thou lookest upon." The inscription mentions also that, having "conquered the kingdom of the south," the emperor reached Fatehpur and proceeded to Agra. Another inscription in a

[1] See Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary* (Beames's ed., 1869), II., first map opposite p. 303 (article "Sarkár"). [2] Elphinstone, Book IX., Chap. 2. [3] See Gaz., VI., 725.

guard-room of the Agra fort records his arrival at the latter place in the same year.[1]

Death of Akbar, 1605.

Three times, after their reconciliation in 1603, Salím visited his father at Agra. On the second occasion he was placed awhile under restraint, perhaps to prevent his indulging in his usual excess of wine; on the third occasion he came to receive the blessing of his dying father. When it had become clear that Akbar's days were numbered, intrigues had arisen to set aside Salím and place his son Khusrú on the throne. Khusrú's faction had indeed taken measures to secure the fort and palace of Agra; and these measures had so alarmed Salím that he had at first excused himself, on the pretence of illness, from coming to see the emperor. But Salím's youngest and dearest son Khurram, afterwards the emperor Sháhjahán, refused to leave the fort so long as his grandfather should live; and Akbar himself strongly supported Salím. This combination of unfavourable circumstances was too strong for Khusrú's party. Salím attended his father's death-bed. And on the 13th October, 1605, when the end came, he succeeded that father under the title of Jahángír, or Conqueror of the World.[2]

Architectural remains of Akbar's reign, other than those already mentioned.

Akbar was buried at Sikandra; his tomb, which needs no description here, was begun in his life-time. But in 1608, Jahángír, being dissatisfied with the works, caused them to be demolished and reconstructed at a cost of fifteen lákhs of rupees[3]; and, as shown by the inscription over the beautiful gateway through which its enclosure is entered, the new building was not completed until 1613. But his tomb was not the only structure in which Akbar's work made way for that of his descendants. In saying that no part of this emperor's palace at Agra has been utterly destroyed, Bayard Taylor is wrong. Much of the exterior of Agra fort dates from Akbar's reign; but the palace within shows very little of his handiwork. A great part of his buildings was removed by his son, his grandson, and even his great-grandson. Thus, in the Hall of Public Audience, tradition points out the spot where Akbar took his stand in administering justice; but the throne in the same palace belongs to the reign[4] of Aurangzíb. The largest mosque in Agra city, after the Black mosque, is that known as Akbar's (*Akbarí Masjid*); but in this little remains of Akbar's work except the foundations[5]. The Black (*kálí*), whose more correct

[1] Keene, 6, 7, and 48. [2] Elphinstone, Bks. IX., Chap. 2, and X., Chap. 1. [3] So Jahángír himself tells us in his memoirs, which give a long account of the tomb. But his assertion that the great gateway was inlaid from top to bottom with gold and lapis lazuli should perhaps be accepted with some reserve. When Hawkins saw the tomb it had "been fourteen years building"; and was not expected to "be finished these fourteen years more." [4] Keene, 5, 7 and 8. [5] *Archæological Survey*, IV., 119.

name is probably the Great (*kalán*) mosque, is itself a memorial of this reign. Its foundation is ascribed to Muzaffar Husain, father of that empress of Sháh-jahán who is buried in the Kandahári Garden. He was a prince of the Persian royal family, and died 1600.[1] In the Majdi-ká-Gumbaz cemetery, a short way outside Agra on the Síkri road, is said to be buried the father of one of Akbar's own chief empress Rukia. This Hindál was the son of Bábar, the uncle of Akbar. The inscription on the footstone of his supposed grave is dated 1570; but he is generally believed to have been interred at Kábul twenty years earlier. That part of the palace at Síkri which local guides wrongly point out as the dwelling of Jodh-Bai was in reality, perhaps, the dwelling of his daughter Rukia.[2] Of tombs built in this district and in Akbar's reign, Hindál's is not the only one which is probably ascribed to the wrong occupant. About half-way between Agra and Sikandra stands a domed building said to contain the remains of one of Akbar's best officers, Sádik Khán. He married his cousin, a sister of Jahángír's great empress Núr Jahán, and died in 1579. During his life-time, however, he built himself a mausoleum at Dholpur, where some think that he was really buried. The eunuch's mosque (*Masjid Mukhannasán*) in the Lohá-ki-mandi is said to have been built by Akbar in memory of an eunuch named Yatima, who by his prayers brought rain from heaven when the land was athirst with drought. About half a mile west of Sháhganj is a fine walled garden called after Udainath, a Hindu devotee, who is believed to have lived in this reign.[3] In this or preceding paragraphs we have mentioned all the more remarkable buildings with which Akbar and his contemporaries adorned the district. His reign was beyond doubt the period in which that district attained its greatest importance. And in dealing with the reigns of later emperors we can indulge in greater brevity.

Jahángír, 1605-27.

In one respect the time of his successor Jahángír resembled Akbar's. It was, as regards Agra, uneventful except in the production of buildings. The power of the so-called Mughal dynasty was now firmly established in this part of the country; and the only persons who ventured to disturb the local tranquillity were the quarrelsome princes of the imperial family itself. At Agra, in the same guard-room as the inscription which records Akbar's return from the south in 1601, is

[1] Keene, 40. The Kalán mosque is said to have been built on the site of the garden of one Hiráman, a Hindu. Of his more ancient buildings a few small fragments may still be found in the ruined part of the mosque. Near that place of worship is a domed *hamám* or bath; and from their similarity of style, Mr. Carlleyle concludes that the two structures were in some way connected. Arch Surv., IV, 170-78. [2] Keene, pp 42, 51. Síkri guides and archæological surveyors are wrong in supposing that Jodh Bái was the wife of Akbar; she was the wife of his son Jahángír. [3] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 178-80, 203.

another which records Jahángír's accession in 1605. The date of the latter event is engraved also on the black marble throne which Jahángír perhaps brought with him from Allahabad, and which is still to be seen in the Hall of Private Audience at Agra. Whether the earlier inscription of 1603 on the same throne refers to Jahángír's reconciliation with his father at Agra, or to his usurpation at Allahabad, is a question which need not detain us.[1] One of his first measures was to attach to the river-wall of Agra fort what he calls a "chain of justice." By pulling this golden chain the suitor on the strand below could ring a cluster of golden bells which hung on the battlements just outside the emperor's apartments. Thus those to whom his officers had denied justice got the chance of appealing to Cæsar.

An undutiful son himself, Jahángír was himself troubled with an undutiful son. Ever since the failure of his designs on the throne, prince Khusru had been sullen and angry; and one night in March, 1606, Jahángír was awakened and told that his son had ridden off, with a few attendants, for Dehli. The few attendants were reinforced soon after leaving Agra by three squadrons of cavalry; and next morning the emperor himself left the city in pursuit.[2] But Khusrú's defeat and capture in the Panjáb form no part of the history of this district. It need only be mentioned that, having once migrated northward to Dehli and Láhor, the emperor spent most of his time at those places. Fatehpur-Síkri, where his birth-place is still shown, where a palace was founded in his honour, was deserted. Finch, who visited it during the early years of this reign, describes it as "ruinate, lying like a waste desert, and very dangerous to pass through in the night." He adds, what is incorrect, that the badness of its water drove Akbar out of the town before it was well finished. But his conclusion is probably correct enough: "so that this goodly city was short-lived, in fifty years being built and ruined." DeLaet, whose book was published about 1630, confirms Finch's account. "The wall remains to the present day," he writes, "but the city is almost destroyed: its houses tumbled down, and the soil turned into fields and gardens." He, too, says that it is dangerous to traverse the place by night.

Revolt of prince Khusru or Cyrus, 1606.

Jahángír spends little of his reign at Agra; and altogether abandons Fatehpur Síkri.

But the district capital continued, in spite of the emperor's long absences, to flourish. During these absences it was probably ruled by a governor; and the appointment of one such

Jahángír's palace at Agra.

[1] Mr. Beale (see above p 500) thinks that this inscription refers to the later event; Mr. Keene (*Handbook*, p. 9) that it refers to the former. A full account of the throne, which is really, perhaps, slate rather than marble, will be found in *Arch. Surv. Reports*, IV., 131-35.
[2] Elphinstone's *Hist*, Bk, X., Chap I.

official, Lashkar Khán, is mentioned by Jahángír himself. As heir-apparent he had occupied a castle of his own within the Agra fort. The raised site of the Salímgarh, as this castle was styled, is still visible; but of the castle itself, unless the house called Dansa Ját's is an altered part of it, no traces remain. On succeeding to the throne Jahángír at once began building himself a new red-stone palace in the fort; and the Salímgarh which he inhabited as Salím, was superseded by the Jahángír-mahal which he inhabited as Jahángír. The Jahángír palace is still in good repair. On its roof are several cisterns into which the water of the Jumna was raised by lifts;[1] and in one of its courts is said to have stood the great monolithic bath now visible in the Agra Public Gardens. The exterior circumference of this enormous bowl ranges from about 25 feet at top to about 22 feet at bottom; and its depth is 4 feet 8 inches. The inscription outside records that the bath was made for Jahángír.[2]

His own account of the city.

The appearance and condition of the city are described at some length in the emperor's own Memoirs. Agra, he tells us, is built on both sides of the Jumna. The part on the western or right bank of the river is 4 *kos* in breadth and 10 in circumference; while that on the opposite or Dúáb bank is not more than 2 in breadth and 3 in circumference. On all sides are scattered great mosques, baths, public caravanserais, and private palaces. The population is so dense that at nightfall, when their work is over, the inhabitants find no little difficulty in passing one another in the streets. During the eight dry months of the year five or six thousand horses from Kábul daily enter the city; and of these not one remains unsold next day. Jahángír seems to have been more often drunk than sober. But if it be objected that he was drunk when he wrote thus, we can partly corroborate his testimony by that of an European witness. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Calbanke writes to Sir T. Smith that Agra is "a very great city and populous, built with stone, having fair and large streets; a great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise; a city as great as London"[3] The wealth of some of the nobles who then frequented Agra is attested by another English visitor, Finch, who of one Mírza Sharíf writes thus:—"He does not allow the garments of his concubines, having been once worn, ever to be put on again, but he orders them to be buried in the ground until they decay. Moreover, he retains

[1] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 124-31. Keene, 11-12. The latter authority mentions also (p. 56) a tradition that one of the halls in the Jahángír palace was built *by Akbar* as a residence for Jahángír's Hindu wives. [2] *Arch. Survey*, IV., 135-36. [3] Quoted by Keene, p. 2. It should be mentioned, however, that just after the close of Jahángír's reign DeLaet describes the streets as "for the most part narrow," and incapable of "accommodating the numerous inhabitants."

500 torch-bearers: they call them massalgeas (*mash'aleh*), so that when he travels from Agra to his house, which is only one kos distant, not a single torch-bearer moves from his place with his torch, but they are stationed along the whole road."

Memorials of his Empress Núrjahán.

In 1611 Jahángír married the celebrated Núrjahán. Though the wedding did not take place in this district, several buildings in this district are memorials of the bride. Thus a part at least of her jointure-house in the Rámbágh garden, on the left bank of the Jumna, survives in a modernised form; whilst the garden itself has remained intact since, perhaps, the still earlier time of Bábar. On the same side of the river, opposite Agra city, rises the much finer structure in which the same lady buried her father Ghiás-ud-din and his wife. Ghiás, who was Jahángír's prime minister, is perhaps best known under his title of Itimád-ud-daula. He died in 1622, and the tomb was completed six years later. It is said that the empress at first intended to build it of silver; and that she was dissuaded only by the suggestion that stone, being "less likely to excite the cupidity of beholders, would have a better chance of remaining unmolested." The garden attached to the building had perhaps belonged to Ghiás-ud-din in life. At about the same time as the tomb was completed DeLaet mentions Nurjahán and Jahángír's mother Maria as both inhabiting apartments in the palace at Agra. The former, who had been lately widowed, enjoyed a jointure of 25 lákhs of rupees yearly.[1]

Englishmen at Jahángír's court.

Most of the European Christians[2] who visited the court of Akbar were probably Portuguese. But the formation of the British East India Company opened the way for the arrival, in Jahángír's reign, of Englishmen. Thus, amongst the standard authorities on that reign are Hawkins, Roe, Finch, Terry and Coryat. About 1613 Captain Hawkins mentions that, the court being then at Agra, he was admitted to the private *entrée* within the red rail of the Hall of Public Audience. An European watch, inscribed with the date 1614 and the maker's name "Stoir," was some years ago discovered in one of the subterranean refuges from heat which look out into the shaft of a large well in Agra fort. In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe entered Hindústán as envoy from James I to Jahángír. He relates, amongst many other things, how one evening at Agra he saw Jahángír driving Núrjahán about in a bullock cart. The sailor Finch's accounts of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra and of Fathpur-Síkri have been already noticed. He tells also how,

[1] Keene, 29, 30; *Arch Surv.*, IV, 137-41. The authority for the amount of Núrjahán's jointure is Marshman's *Hist*, Vol. I, Chap. 5. [2] The term European Christians is here, as above, used in opposition to that of European Musalmáns. It must be remembered that Turks of Constantinople were employed as artillerymen in India as early as the struggle between Humáyún and Sher Sháh.

in the earlier days of Jahángír, beast-fights and executions used to take place in front of the now blocked-up Darshaní-gate of Agra fort.[1] Writing just after the close of the reign the Dutchman DeLaet mentions six other gates which had been constructed at Agra by Jahángír's father, apparently in the city-wall. But, as named by DeLaet, these do not correspond with any of the sixteen named as belonging to the city-wall by Mr. Carlleyle.[2]

Death of the empress Jodh-Bái, 1619

In 1619 died Jahángír's Hindu Empress Jodh-Bái Ráthorin, princess of Jodhpur. As she was a Hindu, her remains were probably burnt; but her son Khurram, afterwards the emperor Sháhjahán, built in her memory an empty tomb whose ruins may still be seen between the Síkri and Malpura roads, south of Agra city.[3] At about the same time that city was adorned by one or two other edifices still existing. The *Hammám* or Turkish bath of Alláh-Vardi Khán, in the Chhípitola ward, was built, as shown by the inscription over its gate, in 1621. In this inscription Agra is styled *Dár-ul Khiláfat*, the capital.[4] Just before finally leaving Agra, in the following year, Jahángír built the mosque at the entrance of the Sháhganj-road, beside that old Ajmer-gate which was destroyed in 1866. On this mosque also is a dated inscription.[5]

Her cenotaph and other contemporaneous buildings.

Revolt of Sháhjahán, 1622.

In the same year Khurram, on whom his father the emperor had already bestowed the title of King (*Sháh*),[6] was driven into revolt by the intrigues of Núrjahán. He marched from Málwa to Agra, where his adherents plundered the houses of the imperialist nobles. Jahángír advanced from Láhor to meet him. An indecisive action was fought some forty miles south of Dehli: after which Khurram again retired to Málwa.[7] Defeated by his father's forces and deserted by his own, he in 1625 wrote a letter begging for forgiveness. In answer he was ordered to surrender the forts held in his name and to repair to Agra. The first command was obeyed, the second was not.[8] But two years later Jahángír was carried off by asthma, and the exiled Khurram was summoned to Agra to succeed him.

Death of Jahángír, 1627.

Jahángír was buried at Láhor. His buildings in this district have been already named; but it should be added that at intervals of one *kos*, all along the road from Agra to Láhor, he

Architectural remains of his reign, other than those already mentioned.

[1] Keene, 7, 14, 16, 93. [2] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 116. [3] *Ibid.*, 121-22; Keene, 44. [4] *Arch. Surv.*, 197-98, Keene, 41. As the inscription gives not only the date but the reign, it is inconceivable why Rája Rám, in his *Ta'rikh-i Agra*, should say that the bath was built in the time of Sháhjahán. [5] Keene, p. 42 But did not this inscription belong to the vanished mosque of the Majdíká Gambaz cemetery? See *ibid.*, p. 41. [6] The emperor himself was, like the Grand Turk of Europe, called *Sultán* or *Pádsháh*. [7] Elphinstone, Bk X., Chap 1; Dow, III. [8] Mill's *History*, Bk. III, Chap 4.

erected masonry posts which in shape and size resemble the *meta sudans* in front of the Coliseum at Rome.[1] These posts marked the distance, and perhaps served also as lighthouses to benighted travellers. Amongst structures raised by Jahángír's contemporaries must be noted the mosque of Mu'tamid Khán, in the Kashmiri-bázár at Agra; and the tomb of Núr-ulláh Khán, on the Poiyá-ghát road. Mu'tamid Khán was for a time the imperial treasurer; Núr-ulláh was a Shía' divine and martyr. The great but ruined stone palace of Islám Khán Rúmí, about half-way between the Táj and the fort at Agra, is said to have been built by Husain Khán of Al-Basra, an officer on whom Jahángír bestowed the title of Islám Khán. The epithet *Rúmí* is explained by the fact that Al-Basra lies in the Asiatic territories of the Sultan of Turkey, who in the East still assumes the style of his Byzantine Roman predecessors, and is called the Cæsar of Rome or *Rúm*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Turks were the great artillerists of the East, and as artillerists sometimes entered the service of the emperors of Dehli. Thus a Turkish artillerist from Constantinople, who also is called Rúmí Khán, successfully conducted the siege of Chunár for Humáyún in 1538.[2] During the Rebellion of 1857-58, the British garrison in the Agra fort blew up, for strategic reasons, another old palace called Ásaf Khán's. This was probably built by Jahángír's minister Ásaf Khán, the brother of Núrjahán and the father of Sháhjahán's empress Mumtáz Mahal; but by some is attributed to Azíz Khán, one of Jahángír's generals. If it be true, as asserted in the *Tafríh-ul'-Imárat*, that one Izád Khán, a minister of Akbar's and Jahángír's reigns, received the title of Ásaf Khán, it is possible that the palace called Ízád Khán's may also have been founded by Mumtáz Mahal's father. Above the Rámbágh on the left side of the Jumna may be seen a tower and garden bearing the name of Buland Khán, who was chief eunuch of Jahángír's palace.[3] In the Protestant cemetery at Agra are still about a dozen tombs of Europeans who must have come to India about the time of Jahángír's reign; and some of their Catholic contemporaries are buried in Pádri-tola. Jahángír was in matters of religion just as tolerant as his father. He allowed two of his nephews to be christened by the Jesuits at Agra; whilst Captain Hawkins, carrying "St. George his flag for the honour of England," led sixty mounted Christians to church to witness the ceremony.[4]

When Jahángír died, Núrjahán tried to place one of his younger sons on the throne. But this unfortunate prince was, with two of his cousins, defeated and slain by Ásaf Khán, who

Sháhjahán, 1627-58.

[1] The comparison is Mr. Keene's. *Arch. Surv.* IV, 200-201.

[2] *Arch. Surv.*, *IV.*, 136-37, 200; Keene, 17, 34, and 40; Elphinstone, Bk. VII, Chap 2.

[3] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 203.

[4] Keene, p. 94;

warmly supported the claims of his own son-in-law Khurram. Early in 1628, therefore, Khurram was proclaimed emperor at Agra, under the title of Sháh-jahán, or King of the World. He went not long afterwards to Kashmír, but was recalled to Agra in 1629 by a rebellion in Bundelkhand. Having helped to quell that rebellion Khán Jahán Lodi, the powerful but unruly commander-in-chief of the Dakkhan, was invited to court. Although there treated with great attention, he before long found reason to suspect that the emperor harboured hostile designs against him. He thereon refused to attend the imperial levées, gathered his troops round the palace where he was staying, and prepared it for defence. Negotiations followed, and ended in a brief reconciliation. But his distrust having been again excited, Khán Jahán one night marched out of Agra with his kettledrums beating, at the head of 2,000 armed Afghán veterans. He was pursued and overtaken on the banks of the Chambal by a much greater force. The chief part in the sharp action which followed was borne by Sháhjahán's Rájput pikemen. Rája Prithivi Singh Ráthor and Khán Jahán had a hand-to-hand combat, separating with mutual wounds. At length, his family having safely crossed the river, Khán Jahán and his Afgháns plunged in and followed. Until reinforced, the imperial troops did not venture to give chase; and Khán Jahán, who had thereby got the start, escaped through Bundelkhand. Sháhjahán now moved to the Dakkhan in person, returning to Dehli in 1632. But the rebellions first stirred up by Khán Jahán had not ceased with the death of that gallant chief. And towards the end of 1635 the emperor again marched southwards from Agra, returning two years later to Dehli.[1]

Revolt of Khán Jahán Lodi, 1629.

During the early part of his campaign against Khán Jahán, the emperor was accompanied by his favourite wife Mumtáz-i-Mahal. But not long after her arrival in the Dakkhan she died, in bearing her eighth child. Her body was carried to Agra, where about 1630 Sháhjahán began building for its reception what is perhaps the most splendid tomb in the world. This mausoleum still bears, in the corrupted form of Táj Mahal,[2] the name of the lady for whom it was raised. The designing architect, a Venetian named Geronimo Verroneo, was ordered to make the cost of the building about £3,000,000. He had however died before 1641, when the Spanish friar Manrique visited Agra; and the continuation of the work is believed to have been entrusted to a Turkish Effendi from Constantinople. As to the inlaid stone-work the French artist Austin of Bordeaux was probably

The Táj Mahal.

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. X., Chap. 2. [2] The letter *z* is unknown to Hindi and other Sanskritic languages of India, which render it when necessary by a *j*. The Persian title *Mumtáz-i-Mahal* means 'The Chosen (or Exalted) One of the Palace.'

consulted. The construction of the Táj occupied seventeen or eighteen years, the last inscription, that over the front gateway, giving the date 1648. The red sandstone of which the tomb is partly built was probably quarried in this district itself. The labour which raised the building was all forced. Very little payment, writes Mr. Keene, was made in cash to the 20,000 workmen employed. "An allowance of corn was daily given them, but even this was carefuly curtailed by the rapacious officials placed over them. There was great distress and frightful mortality amongst them; and the peasantry around Agra certainly did not worship the memory of the innocent empress. The poet describes them to have cried out—

'Have mercy, God, on our distress,
For we die, too, with the princess'." [1]

Shâhjahân's proposed tomb in the Mahtâb Khân's garden.

Facing the Táj on the left or opposite bank of the Jumna lies Mahtáb Khán's garden, a waste plot showing the remains of square enclosing walls. It is said that on this site Sháhjahán began building his own tomb, which he intended to connect with the Táj by a magnificent bridge. The tradition is corroborated by Tavernier, who in 1666 writes that the building was interrupted only by Aurangzíb's revolt, some nine years earlier. In the garden may, moreover, be traced the foundations of an oval range of buildings about 250 feet in diameter, and Mr. Carlleyle believes these foundations to be the beginning of the emperor's sepulchral work; but other explanations of their existence have been essayed.[2]

His other buildings at Agra.

In 1639 Sháhjahán began the palace at New Dehli or Sháhjahánabad, where, from that time until his deposition, he used chiefly to live. But he did not entirely desert this district; and afterwards, as before, enriched its capital with buildings. It was he by whom the outer enceinte of the Agra fort was probably built. The Amar Singh gate of that stronghold takes its name from a Ráthor chief who in 1644 was slain at one of Sháhjahán's levees. In the fort itself this emperor built the Hall of Private Audience (1637);[3] a bath-house which, being lined with thousands of small mirrors, is called the Glass Palace (*Shísh Mahal*); the Angúribágh, which, though its name means the Vinery, is really a court flanked with marble pavilions; a small white marble drawing-room called the Khás Mahal; the Gem (*Nagína*) mosque, used as a private chapel by the ladies of the

[1] Keene's *Hand-book*, pp. 18-28; *Arch. Surv.*, IV, p. 159. [2] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 100, 102, 180-83; Keene, 24-25. [3] The Hall of Public Audience, which Mr. Carlleyle "has every reason to believe" a work of Sháhjahán's, was probably not completed till the 27th year of the next emperor's reign. See Keene, p. 7.

court; and the celebrated Pearl (*Motí*) mosque. The last was begun in 1647 and finished in 1654. In its construction a French and, as Mr. Carlleyle thinks, some Italian artists were employed. Tavernier writes that Sháhjahán had intended to have the verandah of a gallery overlooking the river "covered with a trellis of rubies and emeralds to imitate green grapes and those beginning to turn red; but the design, proving too expensive, remained incomplete."[1] Not so the Cathedral Mosque (*Jámi' Masjid*) just outside the fort on the north-west. Begun in 1644 by Sháhjahán, or by his daughter Jahánára,[2] or by the former for the latter, it was finished, as shown by the inscription over its main arch, in 1649. Sháhjahán built also the red-stone 'Idgáh mosque which stands south of the city, near the village of Namner; and the lack of pavement is explained by the tradition that he allowed himself only forty days in which to complete the building. At the back of the East Indian Railway goods-station, on the left bank of the Jumna, lies the Motíbágh, an unenclosed piece of ground said to have been named after Moti Begam, a favourite empress or mistress of Sháhjahán. Here may be seen a square stone house much modernized, and a mosque which must once have been very beautiful.[3]

Architectural memorials of his contemporaries.

Before quitting the subject of buildings we may as well notice those which, though not erected by Sháhjahán himself, were erected during his most artistic reign. On the same shore of the river as the Motíbágh stands the ruinous China Mausoleum (*Chíní ká Roza*), so called from the coarsely-enamelled but beautiful patterns which, above the reach of human hands, still give its walls the appearance of coloured china or porcelain. A square domed building, it is said to have been built by Shukr-ulláh Khán of Shíráz, a man of letters who became accountant-general (*díwán*) to Sháhjahán, obtained the title of Afzal Khán, and died in 1639. According to tradition the emperor used to say that he had never heard Afzal Khán speak ill of any one. It is sometimes added that Afzal erected this mausoleum in memory of one Vazír Khán of Shíráz; but it is almost obvious that Afzal Khán the Vazír and Vazír Khán were one and the same person.[4] On the same left bank of the Jumna, opposite Agra, are a garden, villa and enclosed village (*Katrá*) which also bear the name of Vazír Khán. Hard by these again stands Nawalganj, a great square enclosure with battlemented walls and fine gateways, which is said to have been constructed in Sháhjahán's reign by a Nawáb Salát Khán. Immediately beyond the Táj on the east may be seen the remains of

[1] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 142-56; Keene, 7, 911, 13-15. [2] The same, apparently, as the Raushanárá of Elphinstone's *History*. In a note to that work (X., 3) Mr. Cowell, who seems to have forgotten that *árá* is the root of the Persian *árástan*, to adorn, suggests as an emendation Raushan-lái. Mr. Keene appears inclined to derive the name of the Zahanábágh from this Jahanárá.
[3] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 156-58, 170; Keene, 5. [4] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 162-69, Keene, 32.

the three palaces attributed to nobles of Akbár's, Jahángír's and Sháhjahán's reigns respectively.[1] In the Sunni cemetery at Vazírpura just north of Agra city lie the remains of Sháh Abú-l-Illáh, a saint who died in 1651. It is said that his marble tomb originally pointed north-east and south-west; but that during the night succeeding his burial the magnetic corpse rectified this mistake, and turned the stone round into the orthodox direction which it still maintains, that is north and south.[2] Left of the road, about half way between Agra and Sikandra, stands a tomb with a hall of sixty-four pillars attached. This building is considered a memorial of the Paymaster-General Salabar Khán, who was slain by the Amar Singh Ráthor already mentioned.[3] But, though prolific of Musalmán monuments, Sháhjahán's reign was unfavourable to the construction *or even preservation of buildings not founded by his co-religionists.* Unlike his father and grandfather, he affected or felt all the bigotry of a good Muhammadan. He stopped the yearly grants hitherto made from the Imperial Exchequer to the Jesuit fathers at Agra. He pulled down the steeple and the greater part of the Cathedral. And the great bell, whose clang could be heard all over the town, was silenced.[4]

Fíroz Khán, the founder of Fírozabad.

Three miles south of Agra, on the eastern and western sides respectively of the Gwáliár road, stand "The Wrestler's" and Fíroz Khán's tombs, both conspicuous domed buildings of red sandstone. "The Wrestler" (*Pahlwán*) is said to have been the chief wrestler of Sháhjahán, to whose period the architecture of his tomb belongs. Enriched with carving and coloured tiles, and fronted by a fine masonry reservoir, Fíroz Khán's sepulchre is one of the most handsome buildings about Agra. The *Tafvíh-ul 'Imárat* says that Fíroz was one of Sháhjahán's eunuchs; and local tradition, while asserting that he lived in Akbar's reign, admits that he was the founder of Fírozabad. The style of his tomb is perhaps rather earlier than that of Sháhjahán's period. But, as already mentioned, we have Elliot's authority for believing that Fírozabad was founded in this reign. It was in this reign, too, that rája Badan Singh of Bhadáwar (1643-55) built the embankment which protects the town of Batesar from the inroads of the Jumna.[5]

Sháhjahán's sons struggle for the crown, 1657.

In 1657 Sháhjahán was seized with a serious illness; and his four sons all entered themselves with more or less openness as candidates for the crown. The eldest, Dárá-shikoh, assumed charge of affairs for his father. Having heard that the third son

[1] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 159-62, 193. [2] *Ibid.*, 196; Keene, 40. [3] Keene, p. 30.
[4] Bernier, quoted by authority last named. [5] See above, p. 477.

Aurangzíb was hatching plots in the Dakkhan, he directed Aurangzíb's principal adherents to quit that prince. Of these adherents the most important was Mír Jumla, whose family happened to be at Agra. As for this reason Mír Jumla hesitated openly to defy the prince imperial's command, Aurangzíb placed him, with his own consent, in confinement. After this overt act of rebellion, Aurangzíb joined forces with his youngest brother Murád, who had openly assumed the imperial title. In Málwa the two princes met and defeated Rája Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, whom Dárá had sent against them. Meanwhile Dárá had occupied Agra, whence he despatched towards Bengal a force which ultimately defeated the emperor's second son Shujá'. The site of Dárá's Agra palace lies immediately north of the fort, and is now called the Jumna-bágh.[1]

Aurangzíb and Murád invade the district, May 1658.

Sháhjahán had himself arrived at Agra, but being unable to bear the May heat had set out once more for Dehli. He was suddenly recalled to the former city by the news that Aurangzíb and Murád had passed through Gwáliár, and invaded this district. The dispositions which Dárá had made to defend the passage of the Chambal had been frustrated by the manœuvres of Aurangzíb. Sháhjahán attempted to dissuade Dárá from giving battle until the troops which had beaten Shujá' returned to Agra. But at Agra was already mustered an army variously reckoned at from 70,0 0 to 120,000 men, including infantry and an ample allowance of artillery; while Aurangzíb and Murád had between them a cavalry and artillery force of barely half that strength. Confident, therefore, of victory, Dárá in the beginning of June, 1658 went forth to meet them.

Battle of Samogar.

The battle was fought at or near Samogar in the Home-tahsíl. It was opened by Dárá's cavalry, who again and again tried to break through a row of guns chained together in front of the rebel centre, commanded by Aurangzíb. Meanwhile Murád was attacked by 3,000 Uzbak archers, whose arrows would have driven his elephant from the field had he not caused its legs to be chained together. The Uzbak assault was followed by an impetuous rush of Rájput spearmen. Clad in royal saffron, and crowned with a chaplet of pearls, their leader Rájá Rám Singh reached Murád's elephant, and hurled his javelin at that prince. Murád received the weapon on his shield, and replied by laying the rája dead with an arrow. But on the death of their chief the Rájputs fought with redoubled fury. Nor could Aurangzíb come to his brother's assistance, for Dárá had at length pierced the barrier of guns, and charging the rebel centre had carried all before him.

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. X, Chap. 3; *Arch. Surv.*, IV, 200.

Victory of Aurangzíb and Murád.

And now Aurangzíb, who alone remained unshaken, was himself attacked by the Rájputs. Rája Rúp Singh was slain in the act of cutting the girths of the prince's elephant with his sword; and Aurangzíb's command to spare his gallant life came too late. Owing, perhaps, to the diversion of which his brother was the object, Murád succeeded at length in repelling the Rájputs by whom he himself was opposed. He came at once to the rescue, thereby threatening the enemy's right, and causing Dárá to abate the vigour of his front attack. And now happened an incident which decided the battle in favour of the rebels. One of their rockets struck Dárá's elephant, which rushed in ungovernable fear from the field. Leaving his shoes and his weapons behind him, or rather being left behind them, the prince threw himself off, and continued to command on horseback. But his sudden disappearance inspired his more distant troops with a panic, which soon affected the whole force. In Asiatic civil war the death of the leader is the annihilation of the cause. The rebel brothers seized their opportunity, and, advancing, put Dárá's army to flight.[1]

Dárá flies towards Dehli.

Aurangzíb's first act after the battle was to throw himself on his knees and return thanks to God; his second, to congratulate Murád on the acquisition of a crown. For it was the plan of the wily Aurangzíb to dispose of one brother at a time. It was not as yet certain that Dárá's resistance was at an end. Meanwhile Murád might prove useful, and must therefore be kept off his guard. But Dárá was unlikely to offer much further resistance. Of his large army only 2,000 arrived with him at Agra in the evening. Ashamed to present himself before the father whose advice he had disregarded, he collected a few valuables in his own palace and, slightly attended, continued his flight towards Dehli. When he had reached the third stage from Agra, he was overtaken by 5,000 horse whom Sháhjahán had despatched to his assistance; but some treasure which the emperor sent after him was plundered by a body of Játs.[2] Local history here mentions for the first time a tribe which afterwards ruled the district.

Aurangzíb gives Fatehabad its present name, occupies Agra, and places Sháhjahán in confinement.

On the morning before the battle Aurangzíb had probably started from Fatehabad, then a large Hindú village of name unknown. Certain it is that in commemoration of the battle he gave the place its present title, which, like the sometimes used synonym Zafrnagar, means "the town of victory." He also founded there a public hostel, and perhaps some other buildings. At Samogar itself are still standing some stone records of

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. X., Chap. 3.

[2] Elphinstone, Bk. X., Chap. 3; and Dow, III.

Aurangzíb's success.[1] It was not till three days after the victory that he encamped before the walls of Agra and took possession of the city. On the site of the house which he first occupied on his arrival in that city he built the Mubárak Manzal or "Fortunate Alighting-place," now the head-office of the Salt Department. He did not at first take possession of the fort, which was still inhabited by Sháhjahán. But having found it impossible to shake the emperor's loyalty to the cause of Dárá, Aurangzíb at length sent his own son Muhammad Sultán to occupy the fort, and to sever all communication between Sháhjahán and the world without its walls. Within those walls, though treated with the greatest respect, Sháhjahán was henceforward to the end of his life confined; and his reign ends in 1658. He did not die, however, until December, 1666, when he was buried in the Táj beside the wife of his youth.[2]

Aurangzéb had no sooner confined his father than, accompanied by Murád, he started in pursuit of Dárá. But Murád was now much in Aurangzíb's way. When they reached Mathurá, therefore, Aurangzíb encouraged his brother to drink himself into a state of intoxication, during which Murád was chained and sent a prisoner to Dehli. On himself arriving at the latter place in August, Aurangzíb was proclaimed emperor under the title of 'Álamgír, or Captor of the Universe; but to Europeans he is better known by the name which he bore in his uncrowned days. In the following year (1659) he again came down-country to defeat Shujá' at Khajwa in Fatehpur. Rája Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur had on the eve of the battle treacherously attacked the emperor's rear; but being defeated had fled towards Agra. Here he unexpectedly presented himself before the success of Aurangzíb's arms was known. The governor of the city, Sháïsta Kháu, gave himself up to despair; and was on the point of taking poison when Jaswant, dreading perhaps the approach of Aurangzíb, suddenly withdrew to Jodhpur. The emperor soon afterwards arrived at Agra, and remained there until drawn to Jaipur by the renewed activity of Dárá. According to Mr. Keene it was at Agra that, while celebrating the first anniversary of his accession, Aurangzíb heard of Dárá's capture; at Agra that, mounted on a sorry elephant, Dárá was paraded through the streets; at Agra that the severed head of this unfortunate prince was wept over by his canting and hypocritical brother the emperor. But Elphinstone seems to place these events at Dehli.[3]

Aurangzíb, 1658-1707.

Agra is threatened by Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, 1659

[1] Keene, p. 111. [2] *Supra*, p 407; Elliot's *Supplementary Glossary* (Beames's ed.), II., 87; *Arch. Survey Reports, IV.*, 195-96; Elphinstone, Bk. X., chapter 3, Keene, pp. 97-19. [3] Growse's *Mathurá* (ed., 1880), pp. 34-35; Elphinstone, Bks. X., chapter 3, and XI., chapter 1; Keene, p. 97.

Buildings of Aurangzíb's reign

Some little distance north of the Agra fort, on the same bank of the Jumna, stands a fine and well preserved stone building called the Chhatrí of Jaswant Singh. It is said to mark the spot where that chief's corpse was burnt. By deserting the cause of Dárá, Jaswant made his peace with Aurangzíb, and died while commanding the latter's forces in Kábul. But it may safely be asserted that his body was not burnt at Agra. History records the difficulties which his widow, having quarrelled with Aurangzíb, found in bringing her infant sons from Afghánistán to Jodhpur. But it says nothing about her bringing back her husband's body; and after the quarrel just mentioned, neither she nor hers would have ventured to convey that body to Agra.[1] Agra can, indeed, show but one important building of Aurangzíb's reign. This, the Hall of Public Audience in the fort, was completed by the emperor himself about 1684. It is probable that he also added a screen to his father's tomb in the Táj. But by this time Aurangzíb had transferred his headquarters to Dehli; and Agra, which during the preceding reign was a city twice as large as Isfahán, had become a mere provincial town.[2]

Rise of the Játs.

A great part of Aurangzíb's long reign was occupied by campaigns, in the Dakkhan, against those Marhattas who were afterwards masters of this district. But the Marhattas were not the only rebels whose hands the emperor's bigoted and overbearing attitude towards Hindús served to strengthen. Some other future rulers of the district, the Játs, rose in open hostility. In 1670 Kokila of this tribe, the leader of a revolt in Mathurá, was executed at Agra. About 1700 the Játs near that city became so troublesome, that it was found necessary to send against them a prince of the blood; and one of the emperor's own letters deals with measures for the repression of disturbances in the Agra neighbourhood.[3]

Death of Aurangzíb and war between his sons, 1707.

In 1707 Aurangzíb died. Under his pillow was found after his death a will in which he recommended that his three sons should divide the empire. The youngest, Kámbakhsh, was to take the kingdoms of Bíjápur and Golkonda; the eldest, Mu'azzim, the northern and eastern provinces, with Dehli for his capital. The remainder of India, south and south-west of Agra, was to be ruled by the second son A'zam, and to have Agra as its headquarters. But each son desired the integrity of the empire, under his own sovereignty; and this

[1] *Archæological Survey Reports*, IV., 202-03; Elphinstone, Bk. XI., chapter 2. [2] Keene, pp. 16, 24, 97; Mandelsloe, quoted by Elphinstone; Isfahán was then the capital of Persia. [3] Growse's *Mathurá*, p. 35; Elphinstone, Bk. XI., chapter 4.

district once more became the scene of civil warfare. Prince 'Azím-ush-Sháh, the son of Mu'azzim, marched up from Bengal, seized Agra, and sent the contents of its treasury to his father, who with a large army was marching down from Kábul. The governor of Agra, Mukhtiyár Khán, whose daughter had married A'zam's son, was imprisoned. Meanwhile A'zam also was advancing on Agra, with a large army from the Dakkhan. As he crossed the Utangan and entered the district, he was met, at Jájau in Khairágarh, by Mu'azzim. In the action which followed, Mu'azzim was victorious, while A'zam and his two grown-up sons were killed. The arrogance of A'zam had disgusted some of his principal followers, who during the battle held their forces aloof, and after the battle made their submission to the victor; but the defeat was perhaps due partly to a violent dust-storm which during the action blew into the eyes of the unsuccessful army. In memory of his victory Mu'azzim, who on proclaiming himself emperor had assumed the title of Bahádur Sháh, built a fine stone hostel and mosque at Jájau. Both still exist, although the gateway of the former suffered during the rebellion of 1857. It is noticeable that during the battle of Jájau the Játs of Bhartpur, under their famous chief Churámaní, beset Mu'azzim's camp in hopes of plunder. Mu'azzim next year (1708) defeated and slew Kámbakhsh in the Dakkhan.

Bahádur Sháh wins the battle of Jájau, and obtains the empire (same year).

During the brief reign of the next emperor, Jahándár Sháh (1712-13), the district was again harassed by civil war. Jahándár had put to death all princes of the blood on whom he could lay hands; but his nephew Farrukhsiyar, son of 'Azím-ush-Sháh, threw himself on the protection of the powerful Sayyids Husain and 'Abd-ulláh of Bárhá, the governors of Bihár and Allahabad respectively. Those old adherents of his father accompanied him up-country with a large force. It seems that they proposed to quit the Dúáb and pass over the Jumna opposite Samogar. Finding, however, that the emperor's army was encamped in the neighbourhood of that village, they adopted another plan. 'Abd-ulláh sent up the left bank of the river a strong detachment which, crossing by a ford at night, occupied a position in rear of the enemy. The imperialists hurried back to defend their communications, and a fierce battle was fought at Kuchbihárí (Bichpurí?) "a village beyond Agra on the Dehli road." Jahándár's army was 70,000 strong; but it was enfeebled by dissensions between the two principal officers, Kokaltásh and Zulfikár Kháns. In the end,

Jahándár Sháh (1712-13) is defeated by prince Farrukhsiyar at Kuchbihárí, and put to death.

[1] Elphinstone, Bks. XI., chapters 4, and XII, chapter 1; Brigga's *Siyar-ul-Mutadhkhirín*, Arch. Survey IV., 2-3.

though both sides suffered severely, it was completely defeated. Jahándár fled to Dehli, where he was afterwards betrayed to his victors and executed. Amongst his adherents who fell in the battle was Mukhtiyár or Mukhtár Khán, mentioned in the last paragraph.[1]

Farrukhsiyar (1713-19) is murdered, and succeeded by other puppet emperors.

Farrukhsiyar now became emperor, sometimes inhabiting the Agra palace. But having aspired to render himself independent of the king-making Sayyids of Bárhá, he was by them murdered at Dehli in 1719. On his death the Agra garrison revolted, setting up as their ruler Aurangzíb's youthful grandson, Nekúsiyar, whom they had released from confinement in the fort. The governor of Agra was at this time one Amír Khán 'Álamgírí; but as he retained the appointment until his promotion to a higher post next year, it is improbable that he had any share in the mutiny. The leader of the insurgents was indeed one Mitra Sen. The Sayyids, who had enthroned a puppet emperor of their own, at once took measures to repress the rebellion. Husain proceeded to Agra, invested the fort, and bombarded it for three months. Meanwhile his short-lived emperor had died, and had been replaced by another young prince who bore the title of Rafí'-ud-daula. 'Abd-ulláh brought this new monarch to Agra in time to witness the surrender of the fort. Just before that event Mitra Sen committed suicide, and just afterwards Nekúsiyar was remanded to confinement. His adherents were severely punished, and a heavy fine was imposed on the city. Husain took possession of all regalia found at Agra. His booty included some valuables that had belonged to Núrjahán and Mumtáz-i-Mahal. Thus disappeared a pall of pearls which was spread over the latter's tomb on the anniversaries of her marriage and on Friday nights. It had been made by order of Shahjáhán.[2]

Failure of Nekúsiyar's revolt at Agra, 1719.

Muhammad Sháh, 1719 to 1748.

The next emperor Muhammad Sháh spent the earlier part of his reign at Agra, and while there succeeded in forming the party which freed him from the oppressive tutelage of the Bárhá Sayyids. When the ancestor of the present Nizáms of Haidarábád revolted in the Dakkhan, it was arranged that Sayyid Husain should conduct the emperor southwards to oppose that rebel, while Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh went to Dehli, and thence administered northern India. In 1720 therefore the two brothers left Agra, each for his appointed destination; but Husain had gone

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. XII, chapter 1; Briggs's *Siyar*; *Tárikh-i-Iradat Khán* (Dowson's Elliot, VII., 561), which says that Farrukhsiyar's adherents crossed the Jumna at Gáoghat.
[2] Briggs's *Siyar*; *Muntakhab-ul Lubáb*, Dowson's Elliot, VII., 482-84.

only 100 miles when he was murdered by an assassin in the service of the imperialist conspirators. On returning next year (1721) to defeat Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh in the Meerut division, Muhammad Sháh once more visited Agra. If the emperor had now made himself independent, so too had many of his subjects; and the empire continued to decay with rapidity.[1]

Sa'ádat 'Alí becomes governor of Agra, 1721.

One of the principal members of the conspiracy for the overthrow of the Bárhá Sayyids had been Sa'ádat 'Alí, ancestor of the kings of Oudh. In the same year as the overthrow of the Sayyids was completed by 'Abd-ulláh's defeat, this Sa'ádat was rewarded for his services by being appointed governor of Agra. During his short residence in this part of the country he devoted his attention to clearing the tract between Agra and Mathurá of robbers and rebels who were probably Játs. With slight loss to his own forces, but much to theirs, he stormed all their castles. For these successes he was summoned to the court at Dehli and promoted to the viceroyalty of Oudh. He did not, however, give up the Agra government; and on leaving its capital appointed as his deputy a Hindú named Rái Nílkanth Nágar. But, in the course of a dispute with some neighbouring landholders, Nílkanth was shortly afterwards murdered by a Ját. The emperor thereon superseded Sa'ádat with his own consent, and appointed rája Ajít or Jai Singh Siwár of Jaipur to be governor. Jai Singh at once marched into Bhartpur and attacked the Játs, who were still ruled by the aged Churámaní. Some dissensions amongst the Játs themselves were carefully fomented by their opponent. In the end Churámani either killed himself with poison, or died naturally, or fled; while his nephew or younger brother was allowed to succeed him on condition of paying tribute to the emperor (1722).[2]

The Mahráthas threaten Agra, 1725-32.

During the next ten years little of importance happened in this district itself. But the decade is remarkable for the encroachments which the Mahráthas, now a consolidated power, began to make on northern India. Thus about 1725 they threatened Gwáliár; and Muhammad, nawáb of Farukhabad, who was then in Bundelkhand, was ordered to repair to Agra, probably for the purpose of protecting that city. From Agra he advanced on Gwáliár itself, which he occupied for seven months. At the end of 1730 he again marched through Agra and Gwáliár, to open operations against the Mahráthas in Málwa. [3]In 1734, however, their roving cavalry again appeared near Agra.[4]

[1] Elphinstone, Bk XII., chapter 2; Briggs's *Sujar*. [2] Same authorities, and Growse's *Mathurá*, pp. 36-37, which however places these events in 1712. [3] See above, pp. 154-56. In reading the page first mentioned it will be remembered that Akbarabad is a Muhammadan synonym for Agra. [4] Briggs's *Sujar*.

In 1736 they became bolder. Their chief Bájí Ráo demanded of the emperor the cession of Mathurá and other holy Hindú places in northern India. The demand being evaded, he in 1737 invaded this district. After seizing the Bhadáwar rájá's domains in Gwáliár, he crossed the Chambal and entered tahsíl Panáhat. As he afterwards passed south of Mathurá on his way to Dehli, it is improbable that his main body crossed the Jumna. But his light horse under Malhár Ráo Holkár crossed that river "opposite Ráprí," that is at Batesar. While speeding up the left bank Holkár was chased by Sa'ádat 'Ali, who had marched from Oudh to Etáwa to protect his old province. But working round his rear, some parties of Mahráthas sacked Etáwa and, according to the *Siyar*, every place between Etáwa and the Motí-bágh opposite Agra. The main body had already burnt Fírozabad and P'timádpur, and were marching to Jalesar in scattered plundering order, when Sa'ádat overtook them.[1] In the words of Rustam 'Alí, from whom a part of the facts just mentioned has been taken, the Oudh cavalry fell on Holkár "like a wolf upon sheep, or a tiger upon a deer. Thus those vagabonds, clutched by the grasp of Death, were forced to fly in alarm towards the forest. The Muhammadan army pursued them, made heaps of the slain, and kept the battle raging for a distance of 35 *kos*.[2] A body of the invaders was overtaken near the reservoir of P'timádpur, and three chiefs with about a thousand men were taken prisoners. Those who escaped the sword crossed the Jumna. Many of them missed the ford and were drowned in the river of Eternity; but most escaped and joined their fellow-countrymen. When the prisoners were brought before Burhán-ul Mulk, he gave each man a rupee for his expenses, and set them all at liberty; but he kept the three chiefs loaded with chains." All the imperial officers, however, were not so vigorous as Sa'ádat 'Alí; and in spite of this check Bájí Ráo succeeded in making his way, as already mentioned, to Dehli.

They invade this district, 1737.

The governor of Agra at this time was Nizám-ul Mulk, already mentioned as the ancestor of the Haidarábád princes. His revolt had long been forgiven, and he was now the acknowledged viceroy of the Dakkhan. But his struggle with the Mahráthas in the south left him little time to devote to the affairs of Agra; and in this same year 1737 he provided that province with a deputy-governor.[3] The Játs of Bhartpur were now ruled by Súraj Mal, the nephew or grand-nephew of Churámaní. The inability displayed by the local authorities during the late

The Játs annex most of the district, 1738-54.

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. XII, chap. 2; *Tárikh-i-Hindí* of Rustam 'Alí (Dowson's Elliot, VII., 53-54); Briggs's *Siyar* and makes the pursuit terminate at P'timádpur.

[2] The *Siyar* with more appearance of truth says 4 *kos* only;

[3] *Siyar*.

Mahrátha incursion, and the absence of Nizám-ul Mulk, who was still engaged in an unsuccessful campaign against Bájí Ráo, tempted Súraj in 1738 to annex a part of this district. After sacking Ol and establishing a tahsílí at Farah, both in Mathurá, he seized 23 villages round Achhnera and bestowed them on a marriage connection. In the following year the Persian invader Nádir Sháh occupied Dehli, and with the decrease of imperial power Súraj Mal's opportunities increased. That he did not neglect those opportunities is proved by the fact that about 1749 they are described as possessing a large territory round Agra.[1] In the preceding year had died Muhammad Sháh, the last emperor who lived at Agra. At Agra itself are no remarkable monuments of his reign; but by a chief who died in that reign, rája Gopál Singh of Bhadáwar, was built the castle of Panáhat.

Death of Muhammad Sháh, 1748.

The neighbourhood of Agra city and the tahsíl of Panáhat were in this district the only places of which the Játs had not possessed themselves in 1754, when Ghází-ud-dín, the grandson of Nizám-ul Mulk, came against them.[2] But his operations did not extend beyond Bhartpur; and seem to have ceased when, in the same year, he returned to Dehli and made himself prime minister to an emperor of his own choosing. For three years longer the Játs were allowed to enjoy their recent annexations in peace; but during his third invasion of India Ahmad Sháh Durání attacked both them and their enemies the imperialists with most impartial fury. In 1757 he took Dehli, sacked Mathurá and overran Bhartpur. He then laid siege to Agra, which was held for the emperor by governor Fázil Khán. But by this time the fierce heats of summer had arrived. The mortality amongst his soldiers, men bred in the cool highlands of Afghánistán, became so great that he abandoned the siege and returned to his own dominions.[3]

Nádir Sháh besieges Agra, 1757.

Throughout these and succeeding dangers Súraj Mal behaved with great prudence and finesse. He had not squandered his resources by opposing Ahmad Sháh in the field. When Ahmad was gone, and when Ghází-ud-dín had called in the aid of the Mahráthas to oust the Rohilla whom Ahmad had appointed prime minister, the Ját chief sided with Ghází-ud-dín's party, which was for the time the strongest. But in 1759 Ahmad returned to India and defeated Dátájí Sindia. Ghází-ud-dín fled to Agra, and from Agra to Bhartpur, where his arrival perhaps suggested to Súraj Mal certain reflections on the folly of resisting Ahmad. Not long afterwards,

The Játs obtain possession of Agra city, 1761.

[1] Mr. Benson; and Elphinstone, Bk XII, chap. 2. [2] Mr. Benson. [3] Dow, II.; and Elphinstone, Bk XII, chap. 4, which adopts the narrative of the *Siyar*. Following the Afghán accounts Mr Growse (*Mathurá*, p 38) makes Ahmad himself remain at Dehli, while these down country operations are effected by his general Sardár Jahán Khán.

when the Peshwa's cousin Sadáshiv marched northwards to attack Ahmad, Súraj professed to be disgusted with the arrogance of the Mahrátha general, and withdrew from Sadáshiv's camp. The prudence of this movement was amply proved early in 1761, when Ahmad totally defeated Sadáshiv at Pánipat. The Mahrátha governor of Dehli fled towards Agra, carrying with him a considerable amount of treasure. Of this, as he passed through the Ját territories, he was dispossessed by Súraj Mal, who spent it in strengthening his principal forts.[1] But this was not the only advantage which Súraj derived from the confusion succeeding the battle. He at once seized the golden opportunity now offered of capturing Agra. Falling unexpectedly upon that city, writes Mr. Growse, "he ejected from it the garrison of his late allies and adopted it as his own favourite residence." Major Thorn, who collected his information on the spot, about forty years after the event, says that Súraj received Agra as the reward of his neutrality during the struggle at Pánipat; and it is quite possible that Súraj had made some such arrangement with Ahmad Sháh. But according to Mr. Keene, the Ját chief postponed his capture of the city until 1764. That capture was followed by a sack during which, unless tradition lies, the Játs shot away the tops of the minarets flanking the entrance to the Sikandra tomb; snatched from that tomb and sent to Bhartpur the armour and books of Akbar; robbed from the Táj and melted down two silver doors which had cost Sháhjahán over 1¼ lákhs of rupees. With these Vandals came the infamous Walter Reinhard or "Sumrú," red-handed from the massacre of Patna.[2]

The Játs complete their conquest of the district by the annexation of Panáhat, 1765.

In 1765 the Játs completed their conquest of the district by expelling the Bhadáwar rája from tahsíl Panáhat. The domains thus acquired were bestowed on Jawáhir Singh and Ratan Singh, Ját chiefs of the ruling family.[3] At about the same time, while hunting near Dehli, Súraj Mal was surprised and slain by the forces of the Rohilla prime minister.[4] He was succeeded by Jawáhir Singh, who during his short reign lived in the Agra palace. It is said that, when Jawáhir seated himself on the black throne of Jahángír, there burst open in that throne a fissure from which oozed blood. This long crack is still pointed out; but the red stain is probably due to the presence of iron in the stone of which the throne is made.[5] The legend is perhaps instructive as tending to show that Jawáhir was an unpopular ruler. That he was an incompetent ruler

[1] Elphinstone, Bk XII., chap. 2; and notes by Mr. E. T. Atkinson. These latter were probably taken from Franklin's *Sháh 'Álam*, a rare work which the compiler cannot at present obtain. [2] Growse's *Mathurá*, p. 38. *Memoir of the War in India*, under Lake and Wellington, by Major Wm Thorn, Captain, 25th Light Dragoons; London 1818 (Chaps I and III.) Keene's *Handbook*, pp. 21, 36, 38, 98. [3] Above, p. 479. [4] Mr. Growse (p. 39) says a year earlier (1764). [5] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 132: Keene, p. 9.

is testified by Dow, who during this reign writes:—"The city of Agra and a very considerable tract of country round it, extending along the Jumna from 40 cosses below the city to within five of Dehli, and stretching back to Gwáliár, are now in the hands of a Hindú nation called the Játs. * * * Jawáhir Singh is a very weak prince. The revenue does not exceed two crores: his dominions, like the rest of India, being harassed by the Mahráthas."[1]

The Mahráthas annex the Dúáb portion of the district, 1770;

About 1766, Jawáhir Sinh was murdered in the Agra palace. His assassination is said to have been instigated by the Jaipur rája, with whom he had lately been at war. He was succeeded nominally by his infant son Kesarí, but really by his brother Nawal, who acted as regent.[2] About 1770, the Mahráthas, who were recovering from the shock of Pánípat, annexed the Dúáb portion of the district, while the Bhadáwar rája resumed possession of Panáhat. In 1772 another enemy appeared in the person of the imperial minister Najaf Khán. He offered to reconquer this part of the country for the crown, on condition of being allowed to retain half the territory so gained as his personal fief; and the offer seems to have been accepted. The Játs and Mahráthas made common cause against their common foe, but in vain. In 1773, Najaf expelled the Mahrathas, and in 1774 the Játs also, whom the Mahráthas had by this time deserted.[3]

but, together with the Játs, are expelled from that district by the imperial minister Najaf Khán, 1773-74.

Najaf Khán makes Agra his head-quarters, 1774-79.

According to Mr. Growse the Játs had held Agra city continuously for thirteen years. Mr. Keene says that they were temporarily deprived of it by the Mahráthas in 1770, and recovered it on the defeat of the Mahráthas in 1773. But, whether the possession of the Játs was continuous or interrupted, there is no question that, when Najaf took Agra in 1774, he took it from the Játs; no question that when once he had taken it, the Játs never recovered it. At the time of its capture the fort was commanded by Dán Sahái, brother-in-law of rája Nawal Sinh. When Najaf first appeared before its walls he found his artillery too light or too scanty for a siege. He therefore contented himself with a mere investment; and, until reinforcements arrived from Oudh, occupied himself in subduing the surrounding country. On the arrival of the reinforcements the place surrendered; and Najaf at once occupied Agra palace, where he lived in almost regal state for the next five years. In 1778 died at Agra Walter Reinhard of Treves, once a carpenter in the French navy, but finally a great landholder in the North-Western Provinces. This unprincipled adventurer was best known

[1] Dow, II. *History*, Bk. V., chap. 2. [2] Keene, p. 9; Growse, p. 39. [3] Growse, 40; Keene, 98; Mill's

by his nickname of Sombre, which the natives of India have corrupted into "Sumrú." He was buried in a handsome tomb in the Roman Catholic cemetery; and a now disused church built by him adjoins the new Roman Catholic cathedral. To him belonged the enclosed gardens known as Begam Sumrú's on the Fatehpur-Síkrí road; for his wife, whose name they bear, never lived at Agra. In the following year, 1779, Najaf Khán left Agra, appointing Muhammad Beg of Hamadán its governor.[1]

Muhammad Beg governor of Agra, 1779-84.

Najaf died at Dehli in 1782. During the confusion which thereon ensued at both Dehli and Agra, Muhammad Beg crossed the Jumna and ravaged those parts of the Mathurá and Alígarh districts which belonged to Najaf's kinsman Afrasyáb Khán. In this as in his later actions the Agra governor clearly proved his intention of becoming, if possible, independent of his benefactor's family. But, being themselves intent on retaining their supremacy at Dehli, that family could not afford just then to waste their strength in fighting with Muhammad Beg. Afrasyáb and Najaf's nephew, Mírzá Shafí, came therefore to Agra, where they entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with that chief. It was agreed that Afrasyáb and Muhammad Beg should share the Dúáb between them, while Shafí remained at Dehli as prime minister. But, having by means of this convention gained their own objects, Najaf's kinsmen broke their promises to Muhammad Beg. Wishing probably to appease the deluded governor, Mírzá Shafí not long afterwards visited Agra. He was approaching the fort on an elephant, full perhaps of schemes for beguiling the apparently friendly and unsuspicious Muhammad, when the latter, disgusted at the treatment he had received or fearing his visitor's designs, treacherously shot him dead in front of the Dehli gate. Afrasyáb now became prime minister. Though determined to avenge the death of a kinsman whom he would possibly have preferred to murder for himself, he seems to have thought the army of his master the emperor too weak for the purpose. He sought, therefore, for some powerful ally. After failing to obtain aid from either the English or the Oudh Nawáb, he obtained it from Madhují Síndia, the Maháratha chief of Gwáliár. The allied forces entered this district early in 1784, whilst a famine was still raging.[2]

Síndia seizes the district, 1784.

On their approach Muhammad perhaps evacuated Agra. For when Síndia took the fort in March of the same year, he took it, according to Mr. Benson, from the Játs of

[1] Growse, p. 40; Mr. Atkinson's notes; *Imperial Gazetteer*, art "Agra"; Keene, pp. 44, 98. The last authority makes Najaf appoint Muhammad Beg governor of Agra immediately after its capture in 1774. But Mr Akinson's notes say that Muhammad was appointed in 1779; and that was the year in which, according to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Najaf left Agra [2] Keene, p. 98; Grant Duff's *History of the Maháráthas*, II, chap. 15; Mr. Atkinson's notes; *supra*, p. 458.

Dholpur; according to Mr. Atkinson, from Afrasyáb's officer Shujá'dil Khán. The latter authority mentions that, while the main body of the imperial army occupied the city, a detachment under Afrasyáb himself was encamped at Fatehpur-Síkrí. Near that place lay also Síndia, who perhaps had reasons for wishing to be near Afrasyáb; while some distance off, watching them, was stationed Muhammad Beg. After a few days of inaction Afrasyáb was assassinated. The murder is said to have been procured by Síndia, who wished to succeed its victim as prime minister. Some force is given to the accusation by the facts that Síndia was appointed to the coveted post in Afrasyáb's place; and that during the confusion caused in the imperial camp by Afrasyáb's death, he besieged and captured Agra. Muhammad Beg made peace as best he could; while Síndia proceeded to annex the rest of this district. The domain of the Bhadáwar rája, which intervened between this district and Gwáliár, was confiscated; but a fief of 30 villages in Panáhat was restored to the rája next year. The Jádon chief of Kotila in Firozabad is said to have been slain in opposing Síndia's usurpation; but his family were not deprived of their lands. In consideration of a promised monthly payment, the emperor bestowed on Síndia "the management of" the Agra province. The emperor's second son Akbar was appointed the nominal, and Rayájí Patel the real, governor of Agra.[1]

A Hindú minister was now the master, not only of this district, but of India; and it was only to be expected that a Musalmán faction should be formed to oppose him. The principal members of this faction were the late governor Muhammad Beg and the savage Rohilla Ghulám Kádir, son of a nawáb of Najíbabad in Bijnor.[2] When Muhammad died, his place was taken by his nephew Ismáil Beg, a dashing trooper whose name was long feared by the Mahráthas. Ghulám Kádir at length succeeded in superseding Síndia as prime minister; and the latter retired in disgust to Gwáliár. He was followed as far as Agra by Ghulám and Ismáil, who in 1787 besieged his general Lakhwá Dádá in the fort. Thereon Síndia, having raised fresh levies and secured the Játs as his allies, readvanced with intent to raise the siege. A fierce battle was fought near Fatehpur-Síkrí between his French general DuBoigne and the Musalmán confederates. Victory rested, however, with the latter; and it was not until Lakhwá Dádá's brother Ráná Khán arrived with reinforcements from the Dakkhan that the besiegers were compelled to retire. Their discomfiture

The Mahrátha rule, 1784-1803. Ismáil Beg besieges Agra, 1787.

[1] Keene, *ibid.*; Thorn's *Memoir of the War in India*, chap. I; notes by Messrs. Atkinson and Benson, history of the Bhadauriás, above, p. 479; Grant Duff, II., 15. The last authority says that Agra fort surrendered to Rayáji Patel in 1785. [2] See Gazetteer, V., 356.

restored Síndia's ascendancy at Dehli; and in revenge Ghulám Kádir blinded the aged emperor.[1]

For this outrage, when brought prisoner to Síndia at Mathurá, Ghulám Kádir lost not only his eyes, but his nose, ears, tongue and hands; and he was afterwards hanged. In 1792 his ally Ismáil Beg was captured and imprisoned in the Agra fort, where he shortly afterwards died a close prisoner. Two years later (1794) Madhují Síndia died, being succeeded by his nephew Daulat Ráo. It was in Daulat's time, apparently, that the Frenchman Perron succeeded the Frenchman Du Boigne in command of Síndia's army. Perron's duties were administrative as well as military. As Síndia's representative at Dehli and Agra, he exercised what Thorn calls an "*uncontrollable dominion*" *over the emperor. But in* spite of his rigour, or perhaps because of it, the Mahrátha governor of Agra rebelled in 1799; and the fort was not recovered until after a seige of 58 days by Perron in person. A Dutchman called Colonel John Hessing was now appointed governor; but his brother George, also a colonel in Síndia's service, was associated with him in the government, probably as his deputy. John Hessing died in 1802, and like some other European officers of the Mahrátha army was buried in the Roman Catholic cemetery at Agra. Tradition says that in the time of the Mahráthas Firozabad was ruled by a Hindú of the religious order known as Gosáyans.[2] This was perhaps the Himmat Bahádur so well known in Bundelkhand;[3] but the details hereafter given of the treaty of 1803 will show that at one time both Firozabad and Timádpur were held by Du Boigne.

He is imprisoned in the fort, 1792.

The Mahrátha governor of that stronghold rebels, 1799.

Like the Játs, the Mahráthas left no remarkable buildings as memorials of their rule in this district. Like the Játs, they probably thought the property too uncertain in tenure to be worth improving. They are said to have given the Rámbágh its present name.[4] But if, as some local antiquaries assert, the original title was Árámbágh, or "garden of rest," that title was probably corrupted into Rámbágh long before the Mahráthas appeared on the scene. Rám or Ráma has always been a favourite demigod of the Hindús; and *árám* is a Persian word which at the time when the garden was enclosed cannot have been well-known to Hindús. As an instance of the rapidity with which they convert unfamiliar into familiar sounds we may quote Ahmuty-ganj at Allahabad, which within the allotted span of human life, or less, has become Motí-ganj. If on the other

Absence of Mahrátha buildings in the district.

[1] Keene, p. 98; Thorn, chapters 1 and 3; Growse, p. 42. [2] Keene, pp. 3, 98-99; Growse, p. 42; Mr. Benson's notes; Thorn's *War in India*, chap. I. [3] See Gazr, I., 41, and VI., 4, 120, 268. [4] Keene, p. 31.

hand there has been no corruption, Rámbágh was probably the original name; for no other alternative has ever been suggested. And if Rámbágh was the original name, it cannot have been bestowed by the Mahráthas, who came here at least 150 years after the garden was made. Rámbágh, moreover, is a title not uncommonly borne by gardens in those parts of Northern India which the Mahráthas never held; and, even here, is likely to have been just as common before their twenty years' occupation as afterwards.

War between Síndia and the English, 1803.

At the beginning of the present century the Mahráthas and the English were the only two great powers left in India. A conflict for the supremacy was inevitable; but it would have been better for the Mahráthas had they chosen for that conflict a time when they were less divided amongst themselves. Whilst a strong and united enemy was at their gates, they were busily exhausting their own forces in internal struggles. In October, 1802, Holkár defeated Síndia and the Peshwá near the latter prince's capital of Púna. In accepting British aid the Peshwá executed the treaty of Bassein, which rendered him virtually a vassal of the foreign power. Acting under that treaty in 1803, the future duke of Wellington expelled Holkár from Púna. The Mahráthas at length realised both the extent to which their power was menaced and the advantage of united action. Síndia, Holkár and other chiefs joined in an alliance against the English, the common foe of all Mahráthas. From the struggle which followed Holkár, with more prudence than honesty, held back. But Síndia had reasons which prevented him from sheathing his half-drawn sword. By the end of 1801 the English had acquired, chiefly from the nawáb of Oudh, about half the North-Western Provinces. In Oudh itself, which was partly garrisoned by their troops, they were supreme. To crown all, the nawáb of Farrukhabad had, a few months before the treaty of Bassein, ceded to them a territory on the very borders of Síndia's own possessions in Northern India.[1] Síndia might be pardoned for supposing that his own Agra, "the key of Hindústán," was threatened; that his own holy city of Mathurá might, like Káshi and Prayág, be profaned by foreign annexation; that his own supremacy at Dehli was at stake. And there were at his elbow men whose business it was to fan these suspicions into flame. There is no doubt, according to Major Thorn,[2] that Síndia's many French officers were guided in their intrigues and general policy by instructions from the great Napoléon. The strugle between Buonaparte and Wellington, which was to be continued in Spain and ended in Belgium, began probably in India.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 4, 178-80. The Farrukhabad cession included, be it noted, not only the Farrukhabad, but also parts of the Eta and Mainpuri districts. [2] *War in India*, chap. I.

With his ally the Bhonsla of Nágpur, Síndia took the field in Southern India; and, after failing to obtain any explanation of his intentions, the English took the field against him in both north and south. The "Grand Army of the Dúáb" included three regiments of European and five of native cavalry; one battalion of European and 11 battalions of native infantry; and a small force of European artillery. The whole amounted to 10,500 men, excluding 3,500 who were massed near Allahabad for the purpose of invading Bundelkhand. The commander was General Gerard, afterwards Viscount, Lake. Two of the principal objects to which the Governor-General had directed his attention were (1) "the destruction of the power of the French party established on the banks of the Jumna under Monsieur Perron"; and (2) "the extension of the British frontier, in the possession of Agra, Dehli, and a chain of posts on the right bank of the Jumna, for the protection of its navigation." Lake started from Cawnpore on the 7th August, 1803, marching by way of Kanauj and Mainpuri to 'Alígarh. At Kanauj, during the preceding winter, the cavalry regiments, European and native, had been trained under Lake's own eye for the coming campaign. It was at this camp of exercise that Major Thorn, the historian of the war, enjoyed "the most luxuriant scenery and delightful society." It was near this camp that Lake shot with his own pistol a tiger that was springing on Major Nairne, by whom the beast had been already speared.[1]

General Lake advances against the Mahráthas in the Dúáb, August.

The troops which Síndia had assembled to resist Lake were the 5th brigade, commanded by Perron and divided between Dehli, 'Alígarh and Agra; and the 2nd brigade, quartered under Colonel George Hessing at Sikandra in this district. On the 29th August, Lake defeated Perron outside 'Alígarh. Perron retired with his body-guard towards Agra, leaving Colonel Pedron in command of the 'Alígarh fort, which the English stormed on the 4th September. On the fall of this stronghold Lake at once continued his advance towards Dehli; but, hearing that some predatory horse under M. Fleury had attacked the British cantonment of Shikohabad in Mainpuri, he sent Colonel Macan down-country to disperse them. With one regiment of British and two of native cavalry Macan hurried through Jalesar, reaching Firozabad in this district on the 8th. But, hearing of his approach, the enemy had quitted that town and recrossed the Jumna on the preceding night. Next day the British detachment reached I'timádpur. Here, writes Thorn, "the surrounding country exhibits

Lake captures 'Alígarh, and proceeds to Dehli, September.

Colonel Macan is detached to scour this district and its neighbourhood of predatory horse.

[1] Thorn, chaps. I. and II.

the appearance of a wild and barren heath, intersected with ravines; and the character of the inhabitants seems to partake of the rugged and uncultivated nature of the soil: for the robbers who abound here are not satisfied without adding murder to rapine, of which we discovered a melancholy evidence in eleven bodies, with the throats cut, concealed in wells." The detachment afterwards crossed over to Mathurá, where it rejoined Lake on his return march from Dehli.[1]

Lake captures Dehli and marches to Agra, September-October.

On the 7th September, while still approaching Dehli, Lake received a letter in which Perron announced that he had deserted the service of Sindia. The French general was conducted by a British escort to Lucknow, leaving M. Bourquien to be defeated opposite Dehli on the 11th. Three days later, when Lake crossed the Jumna and took Dehli, Bourquien surrendered. Amongst the guns captured at this place were some which had been cast at Mathurá, evidently under European supervision. Having settled affairs at Dehli, Lake on the 24th, marched down the Jumna bank for Agra, sending his siege-train by river. On the 2nd October he reached Mathurá, where the French commandant Du. Dernaigue surrendered; on the 4th the army passed Sikandra and encamped before Agra, whose commandant was George Hessing. "The fort of Akbarabad," writes Thorn, "saluted us with several shot, but, being at a considerable distance, none of them did any injury." On the 7th the fort and city were completely invested; on the 9th Lake concluded a brief alliance with the Ját rája of Bhartpur, who sent 5,000 cavalry to co-operate in the siege.[2]

Siege of Agra, October, 10—18.

The British general had already summoned the garrison to surrender, but had received no answer. it was afterwards ascertained that this silence was due to the mutiny of the garrison, which in its resentment against white men generally, or because it doubted their loyalty, had placed the commandant and other European officers in confinement. Preparations were nevertheless made for a vigorous defence. Seven battalions of the enemy's regular infantry, with a considerable number of guns, took up their position on the glacis, in the cathedral mosque, in the city, and in the ravines on the south and south-west faces of the fort. As the British approaches could not be made before these men were dislodged, Brigadier-General Clarke, with three battalions of native infantry and six companies of a fourth, was on the 10th ordered to take possession of the city; and Colonel M'Culloch with three battalions to occupy the ravines. Their attack succeeded completely.

[1] Thorn, chap. II. With regard to the murdered bodies found near Timádpur see above, pp. 184-86, paragraphs on the Thags. [2] Thorn, chaps. II. and V.

After a long and severe contest the enemy abandoned the town, retiring under cover of the guns of the fort, some to the cathedral mosque, others to the ditch. But the force which carried the ravines rashly followed up its success by mounting the glacis and seizing the guns which the enemy had placed there. In so doing it became exposed to a heavy grape and musketry fire from the walls, and suffered severely. The enemy was, however, signally defeated. His loss was 600 men, 26 guns completely mounted and limbered, 26 tumbrils laden with ammunition, and 29 ammunition-carriages. The English lost 228 men killed and wounded, including 10 officers. The remainder of the Mahrátha forces outside the fort did not wait to be beaten. They surrendered on the 12th; and early next day, to the number of 2,500, marched into the British camp.[1]

The garrison obtain a truce for the purpose of arranging terms.

Sieging operations began immediately afterwards, our approaches being made under cover of the ravines from which the enemy had been driven. The breaching battery was erected within 350 yards of the south-eastern side of the fort near the river. On the same day the garrison begged a truce, for the purpose of arranging terms of capitulation. One of their European officers, Sutherland, was released from confinement, and, probably because he was partly or wholly of British birth, sent to treat with Lake. Colonel Sutherland was the bearer of a document signed by himself and G. Hessing, which stipulated that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their private property, and go whithersoever they pleased; but that all arms and other property of the Mahrátha government should be left behind in the fort. Lake answered that the garrison might march out and go whithersoever they pleased; but that they must march out with nothing save honour and their clothes, and must leave all other property, private as well as public, behind them. Captain Salkeld was sent back with Sutherland to explain these terms.[2]

Lake's terms are refused, and the fort is bombarded.

They proved, however, unpalatable to the garrison; and while Salkeld was still reasoning with the native officers, at 8 o'clock in the evening, the fort unexpectedly opened fire. As Salkeld hurriedly left that fort in a boat, the British battery on the river bank fired at and nearly sank him. Seeing his lantern on the water our gunners had imagined that some of the enemy were trying to escape. But Salkeld's voice re-echoed through the trenches just in time to prevent a second shot. The re-opening of the native fire at that late and dark hour was, as the English seem at once to have understood, the effect of panic. As night fell our working

[1] Thorn, chap. V. [2] *Ibid.*

parties had set busily to work in the trenches, which were now within hailing distance of the fort. Alarmed at the sound of active pick and shovel the garrison fired; and continued firing with more fury than effect throughout the night. "They also," writes Thorn, "sent up every now and then rockets, for the purpose of ascertaining our situation; while every hour the sound of horns and shoutings gave the signal of their relieving guard, on which occasions the firing from the fort invariably increased, to show that they were upon the alert. And then it slackened by degrees till the next rounds commenced."

It capitulates and passes into the possession of the British.

Although a musket was now and then discharged at some bold Mahrátha matchlockman who, under cover of the darkness, had crept towards our battery, the British ordnance answered not a shot. Next day Lake, who was anxious to prevent unnecessary carnage, sent another message to the fort. But, perhaps in hopes of relief from Sindia, the garrison now rejected terms. On the 17th, therefore, Lake opened fire. His breaching battery of 8 eighteen-pounders and 4 howitzers was assisted by two other batteries of twelve-pounders. Their well-directed fire opened a breach in the south-east bastion of the fort; and this breach was rapidly becoming practicable when, on the 18th, the garrison capitulated. They marched out five or six thousand strong, while a detachment of our troops under Colonel MacDonald occupied the fort.[1] That fort has ever since remained in the hands of the British.

Booty obtained in the fort.

Native guides still show the marks of Lake's cannon-balls, in the marble screen-work of Sháh Jahán's palace facing the Jumna. But these marks must be the traces of some earlier bombardment. *It is clear not only from* Thorn's *narrative, but from the account of the* late Mr. Wright, who in 1800 came to Agra with horses for John Hessing, that our fire proceeded from the Táj side, south of the fort, and not from the opposite bank of the river east of the fort. Mr. Keene adds that Lake's troops entered by the Amar Singh gate.[2] In explanation of the facility with which a breach was effected, we may mention that the walls of the fort are not so strong as they look. Their outward coating of hewn sandstone is little more than a veneer over banks of sand and rubble.[3] Amongst the 164 pieces of ordnance which the English found in the fort was "the great gun of Agra," which, though apparently made of brass, was believed by the besieged to be composed of all the precious metals. The native money-changers offered, in fact, to buy it of

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Handbook*, p 15. Mr. Keene's statement that Sutherland was governor of Agra at the time of its siege is, however, inconsistent with Thorn. It conflicts also perhaps with the treaty of Súraj-Anjangáon, which mentions the brothers Hessing as governing a large part of the district, but is silent about Sutherland. [3] *Ibid.*, p 6.

Lake for a lákh of rupees, then worth £12,000. The length of the gun was 14 feet 2 inches; its calibre 23 inches; its metal at the muzzle 11½ inches; and its weight 96,600 lb., or over 43 tons. Balls for this gun would, if made of cast iron, have weighed 1,500 lb. each.[1] It was intended to convey the gun as a trophy to England. But the raft on which it was being floated down the Jumna capsized, and the cannon imbedded itself in the sandy bottom of the river. A far more important though not so unusual a prize were the 22 lákhs of rupees which had been deposited in the fort. Soon after its capture Perron set up an impudent claim to the whole of this money. But Hessing and the other European officers proved conclusively that it formed part of a fund which the Mahrátha government had lodged at Agra for paying the garrison and other military purposes. The fort contained also a large quantity of stores and ammunition.[2]

The great gun of Agra.

From Agra Lake marched on the 27th October towards Alwar, to win the battle of Náswárí, commonly called Laswaree. On the day succeeding his departure a tremendous storm of rain compelled him to halt at Kiráolí; but next morning he again advanced, passing Fatehpur-Síkrí and there leaving his heavy guns and baggage, under charge of two native infantry regiments. After Náswárí, the sick and wounded and the captured guns were sent to Agra. But Lake led the main body of his army to Biána, where it remained until the outbreak of the war with Holkar in February, 1804. Meanwhile the victories of Wellington in Southern India had shown Síndia the folly of further resistance. He sued for peace; and by the treaty of Súraj Anjangáon, dated December 30th, 1803, surrendered the Agra district and other territory to the East India Company.[3] The treaty describes the bulk of the district as under the governorship of the brothers Hessing, one of whom was, however, already dead. Their revenues from customs and from the Mint at Agra amounted to Rs. 82,500; their revenues from parganahs Karahra, Sarendhí, Jagner, Malpura, Khairágarh, Kiráolí, Fatehpur-Síkrí, Irádatnagar, Shamsabad, Lohámandi and "Norsing" (Náharganj?,) to Rs. 8,67,462 more. Farah and Achhnera, with a joint revenue of Rs. 1,42,600, were held of Síndia by his general, Ambájí Inglia; but it will be remembered that a part of the former parganah has been transferred to the Mathurá district. Fatehabad, which at that time did not include Shamsabad, had a revenue of Rs. 8,000 only, and was under the charge of Krishnají Ápá. The Dúáb parganahs Khandauli (I'timádpur) and Firozabad appear in

Lake leaves Agra, October 27.

Síndia sues for peace; and by the treaty of Súraj Anjangáon surrenders this district to the Company, December 30th.

[1] So said a distinguished artillery officer of Thorn's day. [2] Thorn, chap. V
[3] *Ibid.*, chaps. VI., IX., and XI.

the "memorandum of *mahâls* in Hindustán formerly belonging to General Duboigne" as yielding a revenue of Rs. 4,87,264. The amount set down for Firozabad is, however, very much greater than that fixed at the first British land-assessment, and clearly shows that when surrendered by Síndia this parganah included parts of other modern districts. Báh-Panáhat the treaty does not mention, probably because during the war it was held for the English by their adherent the Bhadauria rája.[1]

Earthquake at Agra, 1803.

In this same 1803 Agra city was shaken by another earthquake. This is said to have opened in the floor of the Táj some cracks which were afterwards "filled up with silver."[2] Early in 1804 broke out the war with Holkár, and this district again became busy with the movements of Lake's forces. His heavy artillery seems to have followed him from Fatehpur-Síkrí to Biána, for in February he sent that artillery back from Biána to Agra. In the beginning of June the general himself is on his way back to Agra. On the 3rd his cavalry passes Fatehpur-Síkrí and encamps at Kiráolí. Here they were again surprised by a tempest which according to Thorn was "attended with very awful circumstances." It seems

War with Holkár, 1804.

to have been nothing more than a rather violent duststorm, which blew down a few tents and a few trees; but it nevertheless afforded an occasion for some rather tall writing. "The typhoon, like Chaos, came on the wings of the tempest, rolling before it immense torrents of sand, giving such a density to the atmosphere that the sun, which appeared at first as red as blood, was afterwards, by the gradual increase of the opacity, totally eclipsed. Night, with tenfold terror, now darkened the horizon, the awfulness of which was heightened by the howlings of the tempest, resembling the roar of thunder. This scene of

Storm at Kiráolí, June 3.

horror lasted about half an hour. * * * When however the weather cleared up, the transition afforded much amusement. Men and women, almost in a state of nature, running after their clothes, which they had hung up to dry after washing; others looking for bullocks, which in the alarm had thrown off their burdens and ran scampering through the *bázárs*; while, to increase the confusion, a number of our horses broke loose from the picquets and galloped about in the greatest disorder."[3]

Lake passes through Agra, June 5.

On the 5th June the army reached Agra, and crossed the Jumna by a ford near the city. The cavalry now separated, one regiment going to Mathurá and another to Fatehgarh.

[1] Aitchison's Treaties; *supra*, 479. [2] Thorn, chap. V. [3] *Ibid.*, chap. XIII.

The remaining regiments marched with Lake, by way of Firozabad, Shikohabad and Bhongáon, to Cawnpore. But before entering this district Lake had detached Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. W. Monson to attack the enemy in the direction of Jaipur and Kotá. Monson had five battalions of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and artillery in proportion. This force would no doubt have been sufficiently strong had its commander been sufficiently skilful. In the end, however, he was forced to retreat towards Agra, harassed at every step by the enemy. Pursued as far as Fatehpur-Síkrí by straggling parties of Mahrathás, he reached Agra in some disorder on the 31st August. Determined to revenge this reverse, Lake at once ordered all his troops to meet at that city. In spite of a flooded country and diluted roads the army was brigaded between Agra and Sikandra, and ready for marching, by the 27th September. Meanwhile Holkár had advanced with an overwhelming force towards Mathurá, which the British garrison had consequently evacuated on the 15th. That garrison retired to Agra, leaving much of their grain and baggage behind them. Thus the western border of the district became exposed, and the Mahráthas found an opportunity of riding in to extort blackmail from the inhabitants. How far they penetrated is proved by the fact that the rája of Bhadáwar found himself called on to expel from tahsíl Panáhat first a Mahrátha officer, and secondly a Mahrátha robber. Detachments of Holkár's cavalry pushed into the Dúáb, but were sent flying back across the Jumna by a small force which left Agra on the 26th September. On the 1st October Lake himself left Agra. Quitting Sikandra, his army pitched their first camp some 9 miles off, at "Chingna" (Singná) on the Mathurá road. Holkár evacuated Mathurá, which was occupied by the English.[1]

Disastrous retreat of Monson.

Lake again visits Agra, and thence leads his army up country, October 1.

From Mathurá Lake marched on to Dehlí; and Holkár, retreating across the Jumna before him, was pursued, surprised and crushed at Fatehgarh, as described above.[2] In chasing the routed foe the English general visited Mainpuri, Eta, Háthras and Mathurá. By this time Holkár was too much beaten to take the chief part in the war against the British, and his ally the Ját rája of Bhartpur became our leading antagonist. While besieging the Ját fortresses of Díg and Bhartpur Lake made Agra his base of operations. It was from Bhartpur that the Pindárí Amír Khán started early in 1805 to ravage Rohilkhand, and to be routed in Bijnor.[3] It was during Lake's absence at

The Mahráthas and Játs try in vain to cross the south-eastern corner of the district, February, 1805.

[1] *Ibid.*, chaps. XIII., XIV., and XV.; *supra*, p. 480. [2] Pp. 181-82. [3] See Gazetteer, V., 360-61.

Bhartpur that, in February of the same year, some 20,000 Mahráthas and Játs invaded Báh-Panáhat, which had just been transferred from Etáwa to this district. The leaders of the invasion, Naráyan Singh and Ghulámi Khán, intended merely to cross the district on their way to the Dúáb. But, probably by artifice rather than by force, the rajá of Bhadáwar caused them to linger until Colonel Bowie came from Agra and drove them back across the Chambal. A month or two afterwards peace was made with Bhartpur; and while marching from Bhartpur to Dholpur, on the 21st April, Lake was met by a convoy of grain which had proceeded from Agra under Colonel Simpson. In passing Fatehpur-Síkrí Colonel Simpson's troops "obtained leave to plunder that town, by way of retribution for the scandalous treatment which they received there the preceding year, when retreating with the rest of the unfortunate detachment under Colonel Monson."[1]

Fatehpur-Síkrí is plundered by British troops, as a reprisal for the behaviour of the town towards Monson in the preceding year.

From Dholpur the army marched to spend the rainy season at Mathurá and Agra; and Colonel Monson himself appeared at Fatehpur-Síkrí. With the King's 75th and 76th regiments, and the Company's Europeans, he quartered himself "in the splendid but decayed palaces of the great Akbar." In and around Akbar's tomb, at Sikandra, were cantoned three regiments of British cavalry and all the horse artillery. It was because some British soldiers fell from them that, according to native tradition, Lake removed the tops of the minarets flanking the entrance-gateway of the tomb enclosure. But it is probable that, as above mentioned, this act of Vandalism was committed by the Játs. It was certainly not committed by Lord Lake, as the tops of the minarets had already disappeared in 1782-83, when the district was visited by the Royal Academician Hughes. Leaving Agra at the close of the rainy season, Lake chased Holkár into the Panjáb, where, in the following year, the latter was brought to terms.[2] From that time until the outbreak of the great rebellion this district enjoyed the blessings of peace.

The greater part of Lake's force spends the rainy season of 1805 in this district.

Peace with Holkár, 1806.

By the beginning of 1805, when, as just mentioned, it received Báh-Panáhat from Etáwa, the Agra collectorate had acquired all its existing sub-divisions. The later changes in the constitution of those sub-divisions have been described once in this notice,[3] and need not be described again. The same may be said of those rough and

Miscellaneous events, 1803-33.

[1] *Supra*, p. 480; letter from Collector to Board of Commissioners, March, 1805 (quoted above, pp. 516-17); Thorn, chaps. 16-21. [2] *Ibid.*, chaps. 21, 22; Keene's *Handbook*, p. 38.
[3] Above, pp. 406-09.

ready land-assessments which various collectors effected between 1805 and 1834.[1] For more than twenty years after the conquest of 1803, the collector was subject to the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. The president of this Board, which sat at Farukhabad, was sometimes[2] styled lieutenant-governor; and the Agra district may therefore be said to have first belonged to the lieutenant-governorship of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. The governor-general was the governor for whom the lieutenant-governor was lieutenant. In 1808, however, the Commissioners, Messrs. Cox and St. George Tucker, seem to have recommended the establishment of a separate governorship for the North-Western Provinces with headquarters at Agra.[3] In 1813-14 the district was visited by a famine; in 1819 and 1825-26 by scarcities of a lighter type.[4] Between 1813 and 1820, while Lord Hastings was governor-general, he distinguished himself by breaking up and sending as a present to the Prince Regent one of the most beautiful of the marble baths which Sháhjahán had placed in the Shish Mahal at Agra. The example thus set was followed by the next governor-general but one, Lord William Bentinck, who between 1828 and 1835 sold by auction the rest of the marble, with all the exquisite fretwork and mosaic, belonging to the same suite of apartments.[5] The mint at Agra was probably abolished about 1824, when a wholesale reduction of such places of coinage took place.

Creation of an Agra presidency, 1833.

In 1829 a Finance Commission repeated the recommendation that Agra should become the capital of a separate governorship or presidency. Though no governor was then appointed, the advice was so far followed that the North-Western Provinces were united into what was practically a separate government. The Western Board, as the Board of Commissioners at Farukhabad had come to be called, and the "Board for the Central Provinces" at Allahabad were abolished; while their territories were entrusted to the administration of a single body, the existing Board of Revenue for the North-Western Provinces. In 1833 the Act of Parliament for the better Government of India created a new governorship styled the Agra Presidency. But "the subject," writes Sir John Kaye, "was imperfectly understood by the framers of the bill; whilst they who did understand it were of opinion that a lieutenant-governorship, subordinate to the Governor-General in Council, was all that was required." In the end was passed a supplementary act, which empowered the Court of Directors to suspend, so far as concerned the Agra presidency, the provisions of the original statute.

[1] Above, pp. 515-21. [2] See for instance the preamble of the treaty quoted above, p. 178. [3] Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*. [4] See above, p. 458. [5] Sir William Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*.

Meanwhile it was necessary under that statute to appoint a governor. The person chosen was Mr. (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe of the Civil Service,[1] who, though his government bore the name of Agra, was ordered to make Allahabad his capital. He had no sooner reached Allahabad early in 1834 than he was appointed provisional Governor-General and departed for Calcutta.[2]

The governor, Metcalfe, makes Allahabad his capital, 1834.

In the following year the Agra presidency was abolished, the home authorities having finally decided to establish a lieutenant-governorship only. Metcalfe, whom Lord Auckland relieved of the governor-generalship in 1836, was at once posted to the new appointment in the North-West. The first lieutenant-governor of these provinces, he selected Agra as their capital[3]; and their capital it remained for thirty-two years. A handsome hall was erected at Agra in Metcalfe's memory, and still serves the European residents as an assembly-room. But Metcalfe's rule was brief. Having sent in his resignation the year before, he in January, 1838, made over charge of his office to the governor-general himself. Lord Auckland had come up-country to take measures against the famine that was then raging.[4] But he retained the direct government of the provinces for some time; and some of his sister's pleasant letters are dated from Agra.[5] Three years before the famine, had begun the first scientific land-assessment of the district; and three years after the famine that assessment was completed.[6]

The presidency is abolished (1835); and a lieutenant-governorship with headquarters at Agra substituted (1836).

The next governor-general, Lord Ellenborough, signalized the first year of his rule by sending to Agra the so-called gates of Somnáth. It will be remembered that Somnáth, a great and famous Hindú temple in Kathiáwár, was destroyed by Mahmúd of Ghazní in 1024.[7] The destroyer is said to have carried its sandal-wood gates as trophies to Ghazní, where they afterwards adorned his tomb. During the "campaign of retribution" against Afghánistán in 1842, General Nott passed through Ghazní and at Ellenborough's request brought thence some gates reputed to be those of Somnáth. On their arrival in India these gates were deposited at Agra, where they may still be seen in the Archæological Museum which occupies Sháhjahán's palace. Lord Ellenborough's idea was a good one. In Afghánistán these gates had been the treasured evidences of Afghán triumphs over the Hindú. They were now made, in India, the evidences of British triumphs over the Afghán, and of British supremacy

The so-called Somnáth gates are brought to Agra, 1842.

[1] Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] Above, pp. 52, 458-59. [5] *Letters from Up-the country*, by the Hon. Miss Eden. [6] Above, pp. 521-24. [7] See Elphinstone, Bk. V., chap 3.

in southern Asia. But, as a matter of fact, they cannot be the original gates of Somnáth. They are not made of sandal-wood; and "their framework of Himálayan cedar, covered with Cufic inscriptions, should have been enough to suggest suspicion to any one possessed of the smallest pretensions to scientific observation."[1]

The rebellion of 1857.

The next event which we have to record was one of far greater importance, being nothing less than the great rebellion of 1857. It must be remembered that in that exciting year Agra was still the capital, the brain of the provinces. To it, along the sensor nerves of the post and the telegraph, travelled all impressions true or false; from it went forth the orders which moved the limbs of administration. The district authorities had therefore the best information to guide them in grappling with impending dangers; and they had moreover the advantage of immediate counsel and instruction from Government. The ruling Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. John Colvin, "stood high in public estimation as one of the ablest civilians in the country", but "was held to be, though clever, a rather unsound and erratic statesman."[2] He was "conscientious, painstaking, courteous and amiable." But he "wanted that iron firmness, that rare self-confidence, which enables a man to impress his will upon others."[3] The commissioner of Agra was Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Harvey; the magistrate-collector was the Hon. Robert Drummond. Amongst other leading civil officers present at headquarters were Mr. E. A. Reade (afterwards C.B.); Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. B. Harington; Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. Muir, a future lieutenant-governor of the provinces; and Mr. C. Raikes (afterwards C.S.I), whose *Notes on the Revolt* are one of our chief authorities for this period.[4] "Never perhaps," writes the ex-artillerist Kaye, "was the Bengal Civil Service, great as it is in history, represented on one spot by men of greater energy and intelligence."

Civil officers at Agra in that year.

Military officers and troops.

The troops stationed in the cantonments were the 3rd Regiment of Bengal European Infantry, afterwards the 107th Regiment in the Royal Army, and now the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Sussex Regiment; a horse field battery of Bengal Artillery, the gunners being Europeans and the drivers natives; and the 44th and 67th Regiments of Bengal Native Infantry. Agra was at this time the only station in the provinces, except Meerut, which possessed any British force. The European infantry were commanded by Colonel Riddell, and the battery by Captain

[1] Keene's *Handbook*, p 11. [2] Kaye, Bk. VIII, chap. 1. [3] Malleson, Bk VIII.
[4] *Notes on the Revolt in the North-Western Provinces of India*: London (Longman's), 1858.

D'Oyley; for at that time there were no majors of artillery, and batteries were commanded by senior captains. The officer in general command was Brigadier-General Polwhele, a member of the fine old family which still lives at the place from which it took its name in Cornwall. Amongst other military officers whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter were Colonel Hugh Fraser, C.B., and Captain Norman Macleod, both of the Bengal Engineers. The former was the Chief Engineer of the provinces; the latter, Military Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor. Both added to their military and administrative qualifications a considerable knowledge of the country and its inhabitants.

Such were our *dramatis personæ* on the 11th May,[1] when the curtain rose with the announcement at Agra of the Meerut massacres. Two days later a company of the regiment was ordered into the fort, professedly to support, but really to overawe, the native company which garrisoned that stronghold. On the 14th, when news of the murders at Dehli arrived, this native company was altogether withdrawn from the fort; and Englishmen began "to look at their revolvers." The gravity of the situation was now, indeed, fully recognized. The white troops were amply sufficient to suppress any mutiny amongst their native comrades at Agra itself. But it was feared that the rebels from Dehli and other districts might swarm down to attack our capital, or that the citizens of that capital might rise. Colvin summoned the principal civil and military officers to a council of war at Government-house.

Announcement of the Meerut and Dehli massacres, May 11-14.

The meeting was not altogether quiet or decorous. The hackneyed phrase *quot homines, tot sententiæ*, was most unfortunately applicable. The invited expressed their opinions with warmth; the uninvited hurried in, disturbing the assembly with the tale that the mutineers were marching on Agra, and with other false alarms. The Lieutenant-Governor was overwhelmed with letters, of which one warned him against assassination. "One officer," writes Mr. Raikes, "rushed in to suggest that we should all retire to the fort, another to ask what was to be done at the jail, a third to speak about provisions, a fourth about the sepoy regiments in cantonments." In recommending the removal of certain native troops from 'Aligarh to Agra and from Cawnpore to 'Aligarh the engineer officers gave advice which later events proved to be dangerous and useless; but the sagacity of their chief precept was soon placed beyond dispute. "Distrust everybody," Fraser had written that morning, "and recognize the emergency." But distrust was just the sentiment against which Drummond and Harington

A council of war meets at Government-house, May 14.

[1] Phillipps's *Mutiny Narrative*. Kaye seems to place the event on the following day.

counselled the Lieutenant-Governor. They held that disaffection was by no means general; and that the best policy was that which most fully recognized the loyalty of the people. Colvin had already prepared an order for the removal of all Christian families into the fort; but this order he now, in deference to his civil advisers, countermanded. In the end it was resolved that he should address the troops next day; that a body of European and Eurasian militia should be raised; and that there should be instituted a system of patrolling which "would enable even the most timid to sleep quietly in their beds."

Colvin addresses the troops, May 15.

On the following morning, the troops being brigaded together in cantonments, Colvin addressed them. He warned the Europeans not to distrust their native brothers-in-arms. But when he mentioned that those brothers had murdered a clergyman's daughter at Dehli, the ranks "clutched their muskets with a firmer grasp"; and felt, probably, neither trustful nor brotherly. When the native regiments were told that full confidence was felt in their loyalty, when they were asked what complaints they had to make, their officers prompted them to cheer. They thereon "set up a yell," and looked with a devilish scowl"[1] at our people; but no man came forth with a complaint. They were biding their time.

He despatches Mr. Harvey on a north-westerly reconnaissance, and enlists the support of surrounding native states.

Having provided for the safety of his capital Colvin began to look further afield. To re-open the roads between Agra and Dehli, to ascertain the state of affairs beyond the latter place, and to reassure neighbouring districts, Mr. Commissioner Harvey was despatched up-country on the 20th with some officials of the Customs Department and of the East Indian Railway. He arrived next morning at Mathurá; but his further adventures, which form the subject of a most ably-written and interesting narrative, took place in other districts. About the same time the Lieutenant-Governor made advances towards enlisting the support of the native states which on two sides flank the district. The insurrection at Dehli had hitherto been a purely Musalmán movement; and these states were ruled by Hindús. It was sound policy to flatter their pride by seeming to regard them as faithful allies. The mahárája Sindia of Gwáliár at once responded to the appeal by sending to Agra a battery of guns under Captain Pearson, who will be mentioned hereafter, and a regiment of cavalry. At a later date he despatched a second regiment of cavalry and his own body-guard. But the magistrate's spies unanimously reported that no faith could be placed in these forces[2]; which were accordingly detached shortly after their arrival to "to restore order" in the country north of

[1] Raikes's *Notes on the Revolt.* [2] Phillipps's narrative.

the Jumna. The rája of Bhartpur answered Colvin's invitation by sending a small force of Ját infantry into the Mathurá district. But experience showed that these too were unworthy of trust.

A volunteer cavalry corps is raised.

Meanwhile, at Agra, the outward semblance of affairs was peaceful. The officers of native regiments slept their nights unconcernedly in the native lines, as before. Schools were attended with the wonted regularity or irregularity. The courts sat day by day; but Mr. Raikes tells us that they issued "injunctions which no one heeded and decrees that no one could execute." There was much, indeed, to keep alive the sense of insecurity; and precautionary measures continued. A volunteer cavalry corps was raised. Every Englishman and many Eurasians enlisted either in this skeleton squadron or in one of the patrolling bands which tramped through the town or scoured the surrounding country.

News of mutinies in neighbouring districts reaches Agra, 21st-23rd May.

The prudence of these steps was startlingly proved on the 21st May, when news arrived that the headquarters of the 9th Native Infantry had yesterday mutinied at 'Alígarh, about 50 miles distant. The tidings had no sooner reached Etáwa than the company of the same regiment quartered at that station revolted, and on the 23rd another body of the 9th cast off their allegiance at Mainpurí. The announcement of these outbreaks spread considerable consternation amongst our people at Agra. The weaker members of the community, including women and children, took refuge for a time within the fort. "Every Englishman," writes Raikes, "was handling his sword or revolver; the road covered with carriages; people hastening right and left to the rendezvous at the Kandahárí-bágh;[1] the city folks running as for their lives and screaming that the mutineers from 'Alígarh were crossing the bridge; the *badm'áshes*[2] twisting their moustaches and putting on their worst looks." But many were of course quite unaffected by this panic; and the same writer mentions with praise the courageous *sang-froid* of the missionaries.

Precautionary measures taken thereon.

Colvin, too, proceeded calmly with his works of precaution. The fort was held, it will be remembered, by a company of British troops. Under Mr. Reade's supervision arrangements were now made to provision it with six months' food for 3,000 Europeans and 1,500 natives. The immediate instrument of collection was the well-known army-victualler Jotí Prashád Khatrí,[3] of Barára in the Home-tahsíl. It was

[1] A brick-built house belonging to the Bhartpur rája, but then occupied by Mr. Morgan, C.S. [2] *i.e.*, bad characters. [3] Colonel Malleson erroneously styles him "Lálá," thereby making him a member of the Káyath caste. See above, p. 538, "Leading landed families."

feared that, if the native regiments mutinied, the predatory classes of the neighbourhood might attack the European station. Mr. Reade was therefore ordered to organize a system of external defence for the civil population. He fixed on certain buildings, chiefly public, as places of rendezvous in case of alarm; arranged ten defence-posts in a cordon round the places of rendezvous; and placed ten advance-pickets, five of them consisting of horsemen, in a larger semi-circle outside that cordon.[1] At the same time Mr. Drummond was doing his best to convert the city police into a strong defensive force of horse and foot. The arsenal supplied them freely with arms and ammunition. But the police, who were chiefly Musalmáns, had already begun "to scowl upon the Christians." Already, it seems, had they opened communications with the rebels and intercepted communications with the loyal. Their covert opposition harassed those engaged in victualling the fort.[2] Symptoms of open disturbance having appeared in this district, Drummond obtained permission to raise a levy of foot and horse under deputy-collector Nawáb Saif-ulláh Khán.

Colvin's proclamation to the native army

Seeing the native soldiery of the provinces "huddling together one after another in panic-striken confusion, like a flock of sheep, to destruction," the Lieutenant-Governor sought on the 25th May to restore their waning confidence with a proclamation.[3] He announced that soldiers engaged in the late disturbances should be allowed, on giving up their arms at the nearest civil or military post, to return home unmolested; but that all instigators of those disturbances, all persons guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, and all who hereafter appeared in open arms against Government, should be punished. Immediately on hearing of this proclamation the Governor-General Viscount Canning superseded it with another which ran as follows:—

is superseded by another from the Governor-General.

"Every soldier of a regiment which, although it has deserted its post, has not committed outrages, will receive a free pardon and permission to proceed to his home, if he immediately delivers up his arms to the civil or military authority, and if no heinous crime is shown to have been perpetrated by himself personally. This offer of free and unconditional pardon cannot be extended to those regiments which have killed or wounded their officers or other persons or which have been concerned in the commission of cruel outrages. The men of such regiments must submit themselves unconditionally to the authority and justice of the Government of India. Any proclamations offering pardon to soldiers engaged in the late disturbances, which may have been issued by local authorities previously to the promulgation of the present proclamation, will thereupon cease to have effect But all persons who may have availed themselves of the offer made in such proclamations shall enjoy the benefit thereof."

[1] Mr. Reade details his scheme in a memo. which forms the first appendix to Phillipps's *Mutiny Narrative*. As other places of refuge, in the event of future disturbances, have been fixed by the military authorities, it seems needless to enumerate his ten places of rendezvous.
[2] Malleson. [3] The words in inverted commas are Kaye's.

It will be noticed that Colvin's proclamation exempted from punishment all save individuals known to have been guilty of heinous crimes against private persons—a term which could hardly be strained so as to include the many military officers who had been murdered. Canning's edict, on the other hand, debarred whole regiments from pardon. Both rulers acted on the belief that to punish all, for the crimes of the few, would precipitate a general rising of the native army. Both caught at straws; but in that sea of difficulties there was probably nothing more tangible to grasp. Criticism and controversy were the only fruits of these proclamations, which need not, therefore, be further discussed. More important at this crisis was the condition of the Lieutenant-Governor, whose health was under the stress of hard-work and anxiety rapidly failing. It was already feared that he would not survive to see quiet restored.

Ill health of the Lieutenant-Governor

There had passed since the Meerut massacre three weeks less a day. Rumours had been rife, but at Agra there had been no overt appearance of danger. The senior officers of the civil and military services, before whom natives speak less freely, still clung to the belief that there would be no military mutiny, no civil rebellion. But an event was at hand which shattered their airy castles. On the 30th May two companies, from the 44th and 67th Native Infantry respectively, were despatched to bring the Mathurá treasure to Agra. This treasure amounted to six lákhs of rupees, then worth about 60 thousand pounds; and before this, probably, it must have excited the cupidity of the company of the 44th, already stationed at Mathurá. When the Agra men arrived all three companies mutinied. They slew one officer, wounded a second, seized the treasure, and marched off to Dehlí. Mr. Harvey, then in the Mathurá district, sought with the aid of the Bhartpur troops to stop them. But the Bhartpur troops also mutinied, and Harvey was forced to retreat into Rájputána.

Mutiny at Mathurá, May 30th

Towards the small hours of the succeeding night the Lieutenant-Governor, who was sleeping in Drummond's house, was aroused by his host, and told of the first practical answer which the native soldiery had given to his proclamation. The inhabitants of the civil station were promptly warned to repair to the places of rendezvous fixed by Mr. Reade; and the magistrate insisted that it would be necessary next morning to disarm the native regiments. It was not, however, till Drummond pointed out that a mutiny would probably be followed by a release of the prisoners in the jail,[1] that Colvin consented to follow his

Colvin disarms the native troops at Agra, May 31st.

[1] Malleson, Bk VIII., chap. I.,

advice. And, that advice once accepted, the Lieutenant-Governor lost no time. When the sultry night had given place to a sultry dawn, the troops of all arms were seen drawn out on the parade-ground With the British infantry and British guns threatening them, the sipáhís were commanded to pile arms. There was a moment of hesitation, a look of discontent. The officers sternly repeated the order. Silently and sullenly the natives obeyed, piled their arms, and marched off to their lines. "The 44th and 67th Regiments, whose colours had waved from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, were no more. When their muskets were examined, many were found loaded with ball. It was afterwards well known that, on this very Sunday morning, the sipáhís had conspired to overpower the European regiment when in church; to rush upon the guns; and then to shoot, plunder and burn from one end of Agra to the other."[1] The guard of native troops at the jail, being suddenly confronted by a detachment of the 3rd Europeans, ran away threatening to shoot all whom they met. But they too quietly gave up their arms on arriving in cantonments.[2]

Throughout June arrives the news of troubles and massacres in native states;

Of the disarmed soldiers some few remained for a time at Agra; others took leave, going either to their homes or to Dehli. Their departure secured the district from internal revolt; but the surrounding country was ablaze, and communications with that country were almost severed. Almost every day, nevertheless, brought some fresh tidings of disaster. On the 3rd June occurred the mutiny at Nímach; on the 6th, that at Jhánsi; on the 10th, that at Naugáon; on the 14th, that at Gwáliár; and on the 1st July, that at Indor. Not a few of the survivors from the Gwáliár massacres made their way through Dholpur or by other routes to Agra. The Lieutenant-Governor "bore up bravely, though the silent approaches of death were already casting their dark shadows over him."[3]

and measures are taken to preserve order in the district.

Meanwhile, throughout June, movements for the preservation of order in the district continued. Militia bodies of foot and horse—the latter not to be confused with the Volunteer Cavalry—were raised for the protection of the European station at Agra. At Jagner a lieutenant and an assistant-magistrate, with a detachment of the Gwáliár cavalry, guarded the Khairágarh border against the incursions of the Bhartpur Gújars. Directed by an officer of British foot, Saif-ulláh Khán's levies kept order first in the north of tahsíl Kiráoli, and afterwards around the towns of Shamsabad and Khairágarh. Mr. Deputy-collector Parsick, an Armenian who had been tahsíldár of Fatehpur-

[1] Raikes. [2] Phillipps. [3] Kaye.

Síkrí, was once more despatched to that place. He found "the disorderly characters preparing for an attack on the town," and no body of police sufficient to cope with the threatened riot. He however rode through the streets and persuaded the more orderly of the Mewátí landholders to organise an armed opposition in the event of an outbreak. So effective were his measures that quiet was restored, and the road between Agra and Fatehpur-Síkrí kept open. In the execution of this latter work, in preventing the Bhartpur Gújars and scattered bodies of mutineers from crossing the frontier, Mr. Parsick was assisted by the loyal squires of Dabar, Nagla-Saráí, Nagar, Basahra-Rája, Santha, Singárpur and Abhuápur.[1] Cantoned on the Jumna opposite Agra, a detachment of the contingent belonging to the native state of Kota watched the northern tahsíls.

A detachment of Gwáliár cavalry stationed in the district revolts, June, 15;

The speedy announcement of the Gwáliár mutiny was speedily followed by the revolt of the small force of Gwáliár cavalry mentioned in the last paragraph. The commanding officer, Captain Burlton, was gently dismissed. The men, with whom he was highly popular, declared that they must join their brothers, but would not injure him. They escorted him to the neighbourhood of Agra, and then rode off. But more alarming at this time than the movements of the Gwáliár rebels were those of the rebels from Nímach. Swollen by the timely fall of the rains, the great Chambal torrent stretched a barrier between this district and Gwáliár; but between Agra and the Nímach mutineers no such obstacle intervened. Their approach added one more to the many troubles of Colvin, who was now said to be dying. His exhaustion was being aggravated by sleeplessness—to the dweller in a hot climate, and to the troubled in mind, the most harassing of all maladies. Meanwhile the want of healthy authority was sadly felt. Forgetting his illness and their own duty, some of his subordinates talked of impeaching him in Parliament, of placing him under forcible arrest. Lord Canning contemptuously derided these murmurs as "screeches from Agra."

and the Nímach mutineers approach.

July opened darkly. It was now certain that, reinforced by rebel detachments from Nasírabad and other stations, the Nímach mutineers had resolved to attack our garrison. Laden as they were with the plunder of sacked cantonments, they advanced leisurely; but on the 2nd July they had entered the district and encamped at Fatehpur-Síkrí. Mr. Parsick made good his escape to Agra; but the tahsíldár, who had lingered to secure if possible the safety of the records, was taken prisoner. On

They occupy Fatehpur-Síkrí, 2nd July.

[1] Phillipps.

the following day apoplexy threatened to ally itself to Colvin's other ailments; and he made over the government, for 24 hours, to a triumvirate consisting of Brigadier Polwhele, Mr. Reade, and Captain Macleod. Officers who had volunteered for the reconnaissance reported that the enemy had advanced their camp to within 15 miles of Agra. Polwhele decided, if they approached nearer, to attack them.[1] The Kota contingent was ordered from across the river into cantonments, to assist in the defence. At the same time Saif-ullâh's levies, now amounting to considerably over 600 men,[2] were summoned to Shâhganj, a suburb on the Fatehpur-Síkrí road.

Measures taken for Mr Colvin by his "Council of Administration," July 4.

The triumvirs took advantage of their brief authority to execute several important precautions. Dreading lest the prisoners in jail might during the impending attack be released, they had the able-bodied male convicts removed from prison to the opposite bank of the Jumna and there set free. To prevent mutineers crossing in our rear, the pontoon-bridge across that river was broken. All Native Christians were brought into the fort. Two nine-pounder guns, belonging to Saif-ullâh's force, were removed to the magazine. And, to test their fidelity, the Kota contingent were ordered to leave their artillery in cantonments, while their horse and foot marched out with the Europeans to attack the mutineers.

Saif-ullâh Khân's levies are removed from the district;

The removal of their guns produced some excitement amongst Saif-ullâh's levies; and in the evening Saif-ullâh himself, being brought to one of the rendezvous, confessed that his matchlockmen were "unfit to fight against mutineer soldiers." As for his cavalry, they had already deserted. He was therefore ordered to at once quit Shâhganj and march back to the native state of Kíraulí[3].

and the Kota contingent mutinies, July 4th.

The Kota contingent had that same day (4th July) been got rid of less quietly. When commanded in pursuance of the order just mentioned to move their camp to some rising ground on the Fatehpur-Síkrí road, they broke into open mutiny. They fired on the British officers present, killing a sergeant; and rushed off to join the enemy. Such was the precipitation of their flight that a loyal native gunner had time to spike their cannon; while their medical attendant, Dr. Mathias, coolly strewed their powder in the sand.[4] Their disabled guns were brought

[1] Proceedings of the Council of Administration, Appendix II. to Mutiny Narrative.
[2] According to Mr. Phillipps, the original strength of 400 foot (from the native state of Kíraulí) and 200 horse (from the native state of Bhartpur) had been greatly increased.
[3] Phillipps. [4] *Ibid.*

into the fort Some volunteer cavalry under Captain Prendergast pursued them, captured their camels and remaining ammunition, and succeeded in cutting down not a few of the rebels themselves. During this affair Colvin was removed from the Brigadier's house, where he was then staying, into the fort. That same evening he resumed charge of affairs; and, in spite of a serious relapse next day, retained it.

The Nimach rebels advance to Sacheta; and Polwhele goes forth to attack them.

But that next day, the 5th July, requires several paragraphs of its own. Intelligence arrived that the enemy were already near Sháhganj; and acting on the advice of Fraser, which he had at first rejected, Polwhele moved out to attack. His delay enabled the enemy to occupy the village of Sacheta, the very position which we ought ourselves to have held.[1] It may be mentioned, in explanation of this delay, that the advantage of assuming the offensive was not altogether clear. On the one side was the desire to strike a blow for the restoration of British prestige and British power. On the other hand was the risk of pitting a small but very precious European force against an enemy eight times as strong in numbers, who if left alone could at the worst only destroy the European property outside the fort. The rebels had received considerable reinforcements at Fatehpur-Síkrí; and now consisted, according to Colonel Malleson's estimate, of about 4,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and 11 guns. We had one weak battalion of European infantry (568 strong), one battery weak in (69) Europeans, and a handful (about 60) of volunteer cavalry and mounted militia.

Battle of Sháhganj or Sacheta, *July 5th.*

Between 1 and 2 in the afternoon this little force moved out along the Fatehpur-Síkrí road. It passed Sháhganj; but under the walls of Begam Sumrú's garden a halt was sounded to await the return of reconnoitring parties. These reported that the enemy's camp was pitched across the road some two miles further ahead, his centre resting on Sacheta, a village of closely planted mud huts. Our force now quitted the road, and marched forwards to the right across sandy plains, driving in, apparently, some advance pickets of the enemy. Before we arrived opposite the enemy's position shots had already been exchanged.[2]

An artillery duel ends unfortunately for ourselves;

On each of their flanks, under shelter of low trees, walls and natural earthworks, the mutineers had posted half their artillery. When Polwhele advanced, at about 2 P. M., he too placed half his guns on his right and half on his left. But, his gunners being Europeans, it was confidently expected that their fire would soon

[1] Kaye, who does not however name the village. Malleson erroneously calls it "Sa-siah."
[2] Phillipps.

silence that of the enemy. When therefore the mutineers opened fire on our advancing forces, the European infantry was ordered to lie down, while the duel was sustained by the artillery. But the enemy's gunners were well under cover. Before we could get the opportunity of inflicting much damage, they had ascertained our range, mortally wounding D'Oyley and one of his subalterns, Mr. Lambe. The former was placed upon a tumbril, whence, suffering bravely the severest pain, he continued giving his orders. Thinking at length that the hand of death was upon him, he begged that it might be recorded on his grave-stone that he "died fighting his guns." "If glory be a distinction, for such a man death is no leveller."[1] Not long after this casualty on the right, a gun of the left half battery, gallantly commanded by Captain Pearson, was blown up; and the misfortunes of our artillery culminated in the explosion of an ammunition wagon and its limber. The guns had been very rapidly worked at the beginning of the action; and after this disaster our ammunition very rapidly ran short. At 4 P.M. there was scarcely a shot to be fired, and our pieces had become an encumbrance.

and our infantry are ordered to advance.

Meanwhile, as our shot fell less frequently into the village, the enemy's infantry occupied it in greater force; and the fire of his sharpshooters began to harass our men. It was now quite clear that the day could not be saved by our artillery; and the 3rd Europeans were ordered to advance. Military writers are unanimous in thinking that had this order been given at the beginning our victory would have been certain; but it had been desired to spare our British infantry as much as possible. Even now that infantry managed, with the loss of one major[2] and many men, to carry Sachets, to pierce the enemy's centre, and to spike one of their guns. But to hold the village against the rebel host, firing from roof and doorway into the narrow lanes, was indeed a desperate undertaking. A pressing appeal was sent back to the artillery to render what support they could, but the artillery had been too much damaged to render any assistance.

Our cavalry holds its own against the more numerous horse of the enemy.

And could none be rendered by our cavalry? None; for our pitifully scanty cavalry, halved between our two flanks, had its hands full already. It was a heterogeneous force consisting of officers of mutinied regiments, members of the Civil Service, musicians drafted from regiments, clerks in public offices, pensioners, and last, but not least, the horsemen of a travelling circus from

[1] Napier's Peninsular War, quoted by Malleson. Captain D'Oyley died, after the battle, in hospital. [2] Major Thomas. It will be remembered that in those days a battalion had only two majors.

France. The chief of this latter *troupe*, M. Jourdan, said that he went out to fight *pour l'honneur de l'alliance*, and proved his sincerity by his death.[1] When the ammunition tumbril had been blown up, the enemy's cavalry, ten to one, had attempted to capture our disabled guns and to turn our left flank; but they had been repulsed by a volley from our recumbent infantry.[2] They now, while our infantry were occupied in the village, made a similar descent on our right flank. Though some 200 strong they were repulsed with loss by 18 horsemen under Major Prendergast, who in the charge, however, sacrificed one-third of his gallant followers. Though strongly massed on both of the opposing flanks, the rebel troops did not cause us much further trouble.

But the two columns in which our infantry had entered Sacheta were now severed from one another by a wedge of hostile muskets. It soon became evident that we were outmatched. There was no hope of support; and further resistance would only decimate the Europeans, of whom every man was valuable. A retreat was therefore sounded; and the brigade began to retire in so orderly a manner that the enemy imagined that we were merely returning to meet fresh ammunition. The rebel guns had been limbered up for flight; but they were now hurried forward to assail us with their little remaining ammunition. It is said that the last missiles fired against us were bags of copper coins. The enemy's cavalry, also, harassed our retreat. But our men halted now and again to fire at them, and we suffered very little.

But our infantry, after carrying Sacheta, is unable to hold it; and a general retreat is sounded.

Our total loss, during the battle and the retreat, was 41 men killed and 99 wounded. Amongst those wounded, it was at first feared mortally, was Mr. R. C. Oldfield, C.S., who was shot down at the same time as M. Jourdan, but has lived to become a judge of the provincial High Court. The causes of the defeat are summed up in a sentence of Kaye: "The reserve ammunition, though packed, was not sent with our force or after our force; and our infantry were not brought into action until our guns became unserviceable." The result was that the whole district outside Agra Fort became plagued with anarchy if not rebellion. Hordes of villagers had before the battle been observed near the base of operations on either side, ready to reap what plunder they might at the expense of the defeated party. Before our retreating forces had reached the Fort the Normal School, "the first of the holocaust,"[3] was seen to be in flames. The

Causes and results of the defeat.

[1] Kaye. [2] Malleson and Phillipps. This first attempt seems to have escaped Kaye's notice. [3] Phillipps.

rebel troops did not follow up our men beyond Sháhganj. Dining hastily at that place they departed that very night, by way of Farah in Mathurá, for Dehli.[1]

The Christian population retires into the Fort.

The bulk of the non-combatant Christian population had already, at the end of June,[2] taken refuge within the Fort. But the Lieutenant-Governor had forbidden them to remove with them "any property beyond the sort of allowance which a French Customs-house officer, at Calais or Marseilles, passes under the term of a *sac de nuit*." At the council of war on the 14th May the Engineer officers had recommended that all important records should be moved into the Fort; but this proposal also Colvin negatived. The mistake of his decisions on this point was now, when the whole Christian population fled hurriedly into the Fort, painfully evident. The rabble burnt and gutted all European houses and offices except those within range of the guns on the ramparts. Much valuable property, and the greater part of the public documents, were destroyed. The energetic Reade succeeded however in saving the records of the Board of Revenue; and Mr. Deputy-collector Browne completed the removal of the district treasure into the Fort. More grievous than the loss of property was the loss of life. While the battle was still undecided Mr. Hubbard, a professor at the Agra College, was shot at Kalái-khán Darwáza, on his way to the Fort. Murdered also, after the battle, was a Major Jacobs. About twenty Eurasians and Portuguese, who instead of entering the Fort had trusted to their native friends in the city to protect them, were slain either that night or the next. For these murders some dozen men were afterwards hanged, others receiving lesser punishments.[3]

Loss of life and property outside that stronghold.

"Inside the Fort," writes Mr. Phillipps, "great confusion prevailed. Loose horses were fighting and galloping about; artillery-cattle lying wounded and dying with thirst; drunken soldiers bivouacking in the rain; while all night the bungalows of the station blazed incessantly. The fires lit the sky, watched with bitter feelings from the ramparts by the occupants of the Fort." By the lurid light of these fires, says Kaye, might be seen savages dancing with frantic delight around the wreck and ruin they had created. "The mighty fire disported itself over a space of some six miles, from the civil lines on our extreme right to the Qila't-i-Ghilzai lines on the left." Within the Fort itself were now cooped up nearly 6,000 people, mostly Europeans and Eurasians, but including about 850 native

Scenes within the Fort.

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Malleson. [3] See Appendix IV., *Mutiny Narrative.*

Christians and an even greater number of native servants In this motley assemblage, writes Mr. Raikes with his usual wealth of geographical allusion, were "unwilling delegates from many parts of Europe and America. Nuns from the banks of the Garonne and the Loire, priests from Sicily and Rome, missionaries from Ohio and Basle, mixed with rope-dancers from Paris and pedlars from America. Bsides these we had Calcutta bábús and Pársí merchants." People accustomed to comfort were often forced to bestow themselves, with audible growls, in rather strange lodgings. Some of the best quarters were hutches of matwork in the arcades and other nooks of the marble corridors of Akbar's palace. Members of the Civil Service were lodged along three sides of the garden near the Díwán-i-Khás; ladies and children in the stone gallery of the Díwán-i-'Ám. The different sets of quarters were classified into blocks, each bearing some different letter of the alphabet; and numerous dining-messes were privately established by men in various grades of society. At one time the beautiful Pearl Mosque was turned into a hospital for the sick and wounded. English ladies rendered admirable service in nursing the invalids. When the military hospital became overcrowded, Mrs. Raikes undertook the management of a new civil establishment of the same kind; and was assisted in the good work by many female volunteers of all ranks. The spiritual needs of the garrison were supplied by two Protestant Chaplains, the Roman Catholic Bishop, and other clergymen. As time went on, and confidence was gradually restored, a flourishing market for provisions sprang up between the walls and the outer entrenchments of the Fort. Many of the small luxuries of life were however hard to obtain. "You could buy millinery or perfumery, but not cheese, beer, wine, or tobacco." [1] It was "a board-ship life, stuffy, stewy and vermin-infested." But there was not, it seems, more ill-health than usual at that season of the year.

Preparations for its defence.

Preparations for defence were not, of course, forgotten. Overcoming his objections to Engineer officers, Polwhele appointed Fraser second-in-command. The latter now became, in all but name, the actual military head of the fortress. It having been proved that our prepared ammunition had been tampered with, the sentries over the magazines were doubled. Embrasures were opened out, guns were mounted, and the ground commanded by those guns was cleared. Reade would go boldly out to negotiate the amount of compensation payable to owners of houses thus demolished. "They at all events will not kill me," he laughed, "till they have got their money." Fraser and he might almost every evening be seen

[1] Raikes.

walking round the hospitals and encouraging the wounded. Just as the former had become the actual commandant, so had the latter shown himself "in all civil affairs, the very life of the defence."[1] He administered the exchequer, as well as the financial affairs of those ladies who had been widowed or were absent from their husbands.

Affairs in the city.

And thus for many months, nothing resembling yesterday so much as to-day, the Agra garrison continued to live. We must now, however, quit them to note the course of affairs in the town and district. On the 6th, the morrow of our defeat, the chief native police officer Murád 'Alí marched through the city, proclaiming by mouth of the town crier the rule of the Dehli Emperor. The armed procession which accompanied him included most of the Muhammadan officers attached to the central police-station and a crowd of inferior rabble; but there is no reason to suppose, writes Mr. Phillipps, that any respectable Musalmán abetted the proceeding. The Muhammadan police had, indeed, made themselves the leaders of local treason against us. There is evidence to show that they had long been in communication with the Nímach mutineers, and had even advised that force to advance on Agra instead of marching straight to Dehli. The police-guard at the jail had during the battle mutinied, sharing amongst themselves the contents of the jail-treasury. It was by policemen that Mr. Hubbard had been murdered; and it was on a plinth at the central police-station that the head of a murdered Mr. Christie, after serving as a plaything for street boys, was placed.[2] But in the slaughter of Christians, and in the plunder of Christian property, the police were actively aided by the butchers, the Mewátis of Vazírpurá and other low Musalmáns.

A change of Magistracy, 10th July.

But in the city the rule of misrule was short. On the 8th, having received from the tahsíldár of Khandauli[3] information that there were no rebel troops in Agra, Mr. Drummond marched round the town with a company of the 3rd Europeans and some guns. He proclaimed the restoration of British authority; and from that time murders and outrages ceased On the following day the city police were ordered to give up all their arms and ammunition, and did so. On the 10th July Mr. Drummond was promoted to the judgeship of Bánda, and Mr. Phillipps was appointed magistrate in his stead. Next day Reade presided over a meeting of the principal citizens, who were enjoined to preserve order in their respective quarters of the town; to raise for this purpose, pending the reconstruction of

[1] Kaye. [2] Phillips. [3] Tahsíl Khandauli is now, it will be remembered, called P'tímádpur.

the police, forces of watchmen; and to support Rájárám, tahsíldár of Khandauli, who had been appointed chief native police officer, *vice* Murád 'Alí.

Anarchy in the district.

In the district the mischief was less easily remedied. The repulse of our troops, and the retirement into the Fort, became as soon as ascertained the signals for general attacks upon our tahsíl-offices and police stations. At Farah,[1] through which the Nímach rebels marched on their way to Dehli, the tahsíli was plundered on the 8th; and the native revenue and police officials were dispersed. The chief policeman at Achhnera joined the mutineers, while the butchers of the town sacked his police-station. The south of the district suffered from the incursions of Deohans Gújar, who held an important office in the neighbouring state of Dholpur. Between the 6th and 16th July, the tahsílí of Irádatnagar was constantly attacked by the Gújars of Tor, Saddúpura and other neighbouring villages. The tahsíldár was rescued by the loyal landlord of Puseta;[2] but what little money remained in the treasury was seized by the insurgents. Meanwhile Deohans had entered the district with two guns and a rabble of some 3,000 men. On the 9th July he plundered Jájau in Khairágarh, blowing up the fine old archway of the hostel, murdering three corn-dealers, and finally setting fire to the town. Fearing a similar fate the corn-dealers of Irádatnagar enlisted the aid of the more warlike squire of Raghupura, who brought from that adjacent village 300 followers to protect them. But promptly arriving at the invitation of the Gújars, Deohans routed and slew this guardian of order, Irádatnagar and the surrounding loyal villages were given over to sack. For five weeks carts laden with spoil creaked along the road to Dholpur; and the value of the plunder has been estimated at two lákhs of rupees.[3] After remaining a day at Irádatnagar, Deohans had returned to Dholpur. But the marauders were supported by the presence at Mahán of a gun and a small force under Bhawánishankar, tahsíldár of Rájákhera in Dholpur.[4]

Misfortunes of Irádatnagar;

and of Panáhat.

In tahsíl Panáhat Deohans found himself unable to inflict much damage. He, however, plundered a couple of villages, and established a police-station at Samona, which is isolated from the rest of the tahsíl by an intervening strip of Dholpur territory. His further advance was probably hindered by the presence of the Bhadauria rája,

[1] Farah is now in the Mathurá district; but, at the time of which we write, belonged to Agra. [2] Tor, Saddúpura and Puseta are all villages in the neighbourhood of the Khárí Nadí: the first being now in the Fatehabad, and the two last in the Khairágarh tahsíl. [3] Phillipps. Two lákhs = about £16,500. [4] Mahán is village in Khairágarh, near Irádatnagar. Rájákhera is one of the Dholpur parganahs which bound Agra on the south.

who, in answer to an appeal from Government, threw the whole weight of his influence into our cause. But, in spite of this support, the surrounding villagers drove our police officials from Báh; while soldiers of the Gwáliár contingent and Rájput rustics came across the Chambal to attack our tahsíli at Panáhat. These latter marauders seem to have thought discretion the better part of valour; and retired, leaving the treasure to be conveyed to the rája's castle at Naugawán. In some cases the buyers of auctioned estates were ejected by the former owners. It was, writes Kaye, "the carnival of the dispossessed."

Fatehábad and Khairágarh

What the rája of Bhadáwar did for tahsíl Panáhat, Lachhman Singh Gújar of Khera did for tahsíl Fatehábad. The antecedents of this chief seem to have been somewhat turbulent, and our principal revenue and police officials made their fear of him the excuse for early deserting their posts. But after the departure of the tahsíldár he protected our revenue and police records from injury. He intimated his willingness to hold the tahsíli, which was an old Mahrátha castle of considerable strength, against all comers; and under his protection the native staff of the tahsíli was re-established. From Khairágarh, the remaining southern tahsíl, our tahsíldár had before the battle of the 5th been forced to fly by the arrival of some rebel cavalry. On his departure the landlords of Untgiri, Bhiláwatí, and Lakhanpura plundered the tahsíli treasury. The police were driven from Jagner by the turbulent tribes of the Dholpur frontier. But in Khairágarh, too, after the expedition to Fatehpur-Síkrí, we once more set up our police and revenue machinery.

An armed expedition from Agra pacifies the Kiráolí or Fatehpur-Síkri tahsíl, 29th-30th July.

This expedition started from Agra on the 29th July, to eject the officials whom the mutineers had posted at Fatehpur-Síkri. It consisted of a half company of the 3rd Europeans and 20 volunteer cavalry, the magistrate attending as civil officer. Reaching Fatehpur-Síkri soon after daybreak the force found that the rebel tahsíldár had fled; but two of his Muhammadan supporters were arrested, convicted of treason, and hanged. The magistrate next day searched a place called South-ki-Mandí, or the Ginger-Market, where the Mewátís were said to have concealed great stores of plunder from the European dwellings of Agra. Returning with five volunteer troopers through the narrow streets of the town, he was met and fired on by a considerable body of Mewátís. The little party retired to the open ground. But when the rest of the force joined them, they pursued the rebels, of whom they killed fifteen: on our side Lieutenant Salmond was severely wounded. The Mewátís now deserted the tahsíl. After installing a tahsíldár and a chief police officer, the expedition returned to Agra.

By similar means order was early next month restored in the north-Jumna tahsíls. In Fírozabad a small detachment of Gwáliár cavalry had on the 30th June mutinied, frightening the tahsíldár off to Agra. Then the police and the cavalry had struggled with the surrounding villagers for the possession of the Government treasure, which he had left behind him at Fírozabad. The cavalry having succeeded in making off with the booty, the town of Fírozabad was attacked by Chauhán Rájputs from Mainpuri and bargees (Malláh) from the Jumna bank. These were twice repulsed by the Muhammadan inhabitants, but not before most of the town had been sacked. In tahsíl Itimádpur the revolt had been led by one Zoráwar Singh of Himmatpur; and on the 5th July, the tahsíldár having left to beg aid at Agra, the *jacquerie* of surrounding villages attacked the police-station at Itimádpur. The native officer in charge was put to flight, and the town was plundered. But on the 10th of August, a company of Europeans, two guns, and 30 volunteer cavalry were despatched across the Jumna, under the joint-magistrate, Mr. Lowe. At Chutháwali near Itimádpur they were fired upon; but the village was easily carried, and no further resistance was encountered. Our tahsíli and police officials were restored to their posts north of the Jumna, receiving the loyal support of the rája of Awa and the ta'alluqdár of Járkhi.[1] The Chauháns of Mainpuri still threatened the eastern frontier of Fírozabad; but by raising levies and collecting guns our deputy collector, Shaikh Ináyat Husain, averted any actual attack on that quarter.

By similar means order is restored in tahsíls Itimádpur and Fírozabad, August 10th.

The expedition to Itimádpur, so much stronger than that to Fatehpur-Síkri, was perhaps an outward manifestation of the new spirit which animated military management at Agra. Since the retreat of Sháhganj the supersession of Brigadier Polwhele had become inevitable; and on the 5th August orders had arrived from Calcutta appointing Colonel Cotton to the command of the Agra Brigade. Sir John Kaye informs us that the new chief "is said to have been a somewhat fiery warrior, and to have been called *Gun-Cotton* by his comrades." He almost immediately followed up the Itimádpur expedition by one in much greater force to 'Alígarh, where the rebel government was causing some trouble. The troops despatched were three companies of European infantry, three guns, a body of volunteer cavalry, and some Ját horsemen raised by Thákur Govind Singh. Wearied with their long confinement, they gaily left the fort on the 20th. Their complete success in the 'Alígarh district has been described elsewhere.[2]

Brigadier Polwhele is superseded by Colonel Cotton, who orders an expedition in force to Alígarh, August 20th.

[1] See above, pp. 533, 536. [2] Gazetteer, Vol. II., p. 502 ('Alígarh).

But the outlook at Agra was still dark enough. Neither Dehli nor Lucknow had fallen; and as yet, therefore, there was no hope of reinforcements arriving. As August drew to a close and September began, as the annual rainfall began to slacken, the Jumna and Chambal rivers subsided. Mutineers from Gwáliár crossed into Etáwa; while Rájput freebooters menaced tahsíl Panáhat from the south. The expedition to 'Aligarh had so much weakened the Agra garrison that the defence of this part of the district rested solely upon the rája of Bhadáwar. He proved, however, equal to the task, strongly and vigilantly guarding all the ferries across both rivers. Shots were often exchanged between his men and the mutineers west of the Jumna; but the latter never succeeded in landing on our side. His precautions and his tribal influence sufficed to check the Bhadaurias and Tomars south of the Chambal.

The rája of Bhadáwar averts rebel incursions into tahsíl Panáhat.

Early in September a fresh and alarming danger appeared at Dholpur. During the preceding month a great force of mutineers, including nearly all or the whole of the Mehidpur, Málwa and Bhopál contingents, had mustered at Gwáliár. Here they allied themselves with part of the Gwáliár contingent, with the 23rd Native Infantry from Mau, and with the rabble of Central India. The Mahárája Síndia managed to detain them until September, when they broke loose and decamped to the Dholpur capital. Their neighbourhood was a standing menace to the city and district of Agra. To maintain order in that district, and to keep the roads open, the magistrate, Mr. Phillipps, raised armed levies officered by loyal landholders; and directed the tahsíldárs to make their tahsílis as defensible as possible. Mr. Muir had organized an intelligence department which watched with more or less precision the movements of the rebels. It was in the beginning of September that the pontoon bridge across the Jumna, removed by order of the "Council of Administration" on the 4th July, was completed in its new site beneath the guns of the fort.

The mutineers of Mehidpur, Málwa, Bhopál and other places muster at Dholpur, early in September.

But the hand which had hitherto held the helm of affairs was fast relaxing its grasp. Since the Sháhganj reverse Colvin had been slowly fading away. He worked on courageously, and would not, perhaps from motives of public policy, admit that the head of the local government was breaking down. He even interested himself in details which might seem beneath the dignity of so high an officer. "If I wanted a sword or a pistol from the magazine," writes Raikes, "Mr. Colvin's contersignature was necessary." The Lieutenant-Governor at length permitted himself a temporary removal from the fort to the purer air of cantonments.

Death of Colvin, September 9th.

His medical advisers recommended a voyage to England; but it was too late. "*Nec patriam antiquam,*" he touchingly quoted to his private secretary, Captain Prinsep, "*nunc est spes ulla videndi.*" At the beginning of September it was plain that his end was swiftly approaching; on the 9th that end came, and Colvin was buried in the court-yard of the Diwán-i-'Ám at Agra. He died for his country and died in harness: "a true Christian hero," says Kaye, "of whom the nation must ever be most proud." "The Government of India," writes Malleson, "only gave utterance to the feeling which pervaded all classes when, by a notification in the official Gazette, it paid a just tribute to his memory." And at all the capitals of local government throughout India, the flags were on the news of his death flown half-mast high.

That death left Reade the senior civil officer at Agra. But with praiseworthy disinterestedness he moved the Supreme Government to appoint some military officer provincial chief until order should be restored. On the 11th September, whilst his application was still on its way to Calcutta, the cavalry and advanced guard of the enemy at Dholpur entered the district. They captured the tahsíldár and chief policeman of Khairágarh; and afterwards, spreading over tahsíls Kiráolí and Fatehábad, necessitated the withdrawal of all our establishments in those tahsíls. Thus, as Fatehábad then included what is now the eastern portion of the Home tahsíl, rebel outposts surrounded Agra on all its south-Jumna sides. On the 19th, Reade, in concert with Cotton, gave orders to level some obstacles which still interfered with the free play of the Fort's guns; and to undermine several prominent buildings, including the Great Mosque, which were in dangerous proximity to the walls.

Rebel outposts from Dholpur occupy all the south-Jumna tahsíls surrounding Agra, September 11.

On the same date was completed the capture of Dehli. But for some days the rats had been deserting the sinking ship; and a goodly force of rebel refugees from the Imperial City had already concentrated in its neighbourhood. On the 25th their main body was reported as retreating down country to Mathurá, on the morrow they reached that holy place.[1] The police-station at Farah was moved back to Runkutá. Measures were taken to ensure a vigilant watch on the Mathurá road; while several rebel fugitives were captured and hanged. On the 30th September, in answer to Reade's appeal, orders arrived from Calcutta appointing Colonel Fraser the Governor-General's "Chief-Commissioner for the North-Western Provinces." One of the first pieces of news conveyed

After the fall of Dehli, rebel refugees from that fortress occupy Mathurá, September 25.

Colonel Fraser is appointed Chief Commissioner of the Provinces, September 30.

[1] Phillipps.

to him in his new capacity was that a strong detachment of all arms had quitted the rebel army at Mathurá and joined that at Dholpur. This detachment was commanded by Hira Singh, a native captain (*súbadár*) of infantry, who had victoriously led the Nímach mutineers against us in July. With him went prince Fírozsháh of Dehli.[1]

On their arrival at Dholpur, the whole of the large force there collected began advancing on Agra. It started on the 6th October, pleasantly ignorant of the reception which awaited it. Unknown to its leaders were the movements of Colonel Greathed's column, which from fallen Delhi was marching south-eastwards to sweep the country of rebels. This small but magnificent body consisted of about 2,800 men, chiefly British veterans. After reaching Alígarh it pushed forwards towards Agra, whence letters "imploring aid in every language dead and living, and in cypher, came pouring into camp."[2] On the evening of the 9th, when Greathed was still 48 miles distant, he received an urgent despatch, neither in a foreign tongue nor in cypher, from Mr. Muir. "The enemy," wrote the latter, "is encamped on the other side of the Khárí, and professes to intend a passage of that river today. * * Hence our urgent anxiety to be provided with cavalry and another troop of horse artillery. We want these in advance of you. * * As far as we can see, our enemy is playing the part of a madman, and thrusting his head into the lion's jaws. But you must come on rapidly, in order yourself to play the lion's part."

Reinforced by a detachment from Mathúra, the mutinous army at Dholpur advances on Agra, October 6; but at the same time Colonel Greathed's British column marches down country.

This appeal was not lost upon Greathed. His cavalry and horse artillery, who were making themselves comfortable for the night, were forthwith sent forward at a forced march. And, on receiving from Agra a second letter, announcing that part of the rebel force had already crossed the Khárí, he himself started with the rest of the troops four hours later. His infantry were for greater speed mounted on elephants, camels, and carts, and before dawn he had overtaken the artillery and cavalry near the Jumna.[3] On the morning of the 10th, the whole force marched across the bridge of boats into Agra, cheered from the walls of the Fort by the 3rd Europeans. "Those dreadful-looking men," said a lady to Raikes, pointing to the new-comers, "must be Afghans. And it was not till Raikes himself saw one of them smoking a short clay pipe that in "these worn, sun-dried skeletons" he recognized Englishmen.

Greathed reaches Agra, October 10.

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Colonel Bourchier's *Eight Months' Campaign*, quoted by Malleson.
[3] Malleson, Bk. X., chap. 2.

For some two hours after its arrival the column was kept awaiting the choice of a suitable encamping-spot, which was at length found in the parade ground. Their commander had, in some manner disputed,[1] obtained the impression that the enemy had on the approach of the British force retired across the Khári river, some miles distant. And our wearied soldiers joyously prepared for repose.

He is surprised by the enemy, who arrive almost simultaneously with him.

"The men in camp," writes Malleson, "having swallowed a hasty meal, were variously occupied. Some, pending the arrival of the baggage, now slowly coming up, had thrown themselves on the ground and were fast asleep; some were talking to their friends; some were assisting to pitch the few tents that had reached the ground. The long march had caused the camp to be pervaded by an air of listlessness and languor, common to men who have but just completed an undertaking of more than ordinary labour. Not a sign betokened an enemy. The high crops and trees which shut in the view at no great distance were stirred only by the breeze." But this idyllic repose was roughly disturbed. Four or five natives beating hand-drums,[2] and attired as conjurors, strolled up to the advance guard of the 9th Lancers. On being ordered off, they turned out to be Gházís,[3] champions of Islám; and, drawing swords from beneath their clothes, cut down three of our men.

Battle of Agra, October 10.

The intruders were quickly despatched; but, before the alarm had spread, round shot came tumbling into the camp. "The familiar sound was sufficient for the soldiers of Dehli. To start to their feet, seize their muskets, mount their horses, and man the guns was the work of an instant."[4] Such was the promptitude of our artillery, that they replied to the fourth gun fired by the enemy.[5] To silence if possible this unpleasantly ready answer, the rebel cavalry charged the offending battery. They were at once ridden through and put to flight by a squadron of the 9th Lancers, which in this dashing operation, however, lost a couple of officers.

[1] Writing in 1858, Major (now Lieutenant-General Sir H.) Norman says that "the head authorities at Agra" informed Greathed "in positive terms" that the enemy had retired across the Khárí. On the other hand we have the distinct statements of Mr. (now Sir W.) Muir and Mr. Phillipps (the former in charge of intelligence operations, the latter magistrate) that "there was no intimation given to Colonel Greathed, by any of the authorities, that the enemy were recrossing" (*i. e.*, retreating across the Khárí). It is not denied, however, that there was a rumour to that effect. "The report," writes Muir, "doubtless grew out of the probability of such a move" "It was never suspected," he writes elsewhere, "that the enemy would be so foolish as to fall into a trap by walking up to our four-and-twenty guns." The first question that arises in the ordinary mind is, why, there being a brigadier and his staff at Agra, intelligence operations were left to civilians; the second, why, having been entrusted with such operations, Mr. Muir did not keep a better look-out.
[2] Otherwise called "tom-toms" [3] A *ghází* is a Muhammadan who, for faith's sake, fights against infidels. He is the Muslim equivalent of the Crusader. [4] Malleson.
[5] Phillipps. Malleson does not mention this fact.

Greathed speedily deployed his line, facing southwards towards the mutineers; and from the moment when he had done so, our success was assured. In an hour and-a-half the victory was completed. It was only indeed on their left flank, our right, that the enemy made any stand at all.

The rebels are utterly routed.

This right flank of ours was at first rather weak in artillery; and its infantry were giving ground somewhat under the fire of the foe's heavy guns. When, however, Captain Pearson's battery from the fort reinforced this part of the line, its weakness became strength The new-comers blow up three of the enemy's limbers, and advancing captured the enemy's guns. A simultaneous advance was made on our left, and the mutineers gave way on all sides. Charging from our right flank, Watson's and Probyn's horse completed their disorder. In vain they tried with their usual tactics to create a diversion, by attacking our camp with their cavalry; for Hodson's horse and the 9th Lancers speedily showed them the folly of any such attempt. Cotton now arrived on the field, and as senior officer assumed command. He detached two companies of the 3rd Europeans, whom he had brought with him, to strengthen our right; whose advance the enemy under shelter of high crops still opposed. This was the final blow; the rebels fled, and we pursued. Their camp, standing midway between Agra and the Khárí, fell into our hands. Both the camp and the villages abutting thereon were burnt.

Our men pursue them.

Our infantry followed up the enemy as far as the Khárí; our cavalry pursued beyond that river. The fugitives once or twice endeavoured to make a stand, but were always hurried into fresh motion by a few rounds from our guns. "For seven miles," writes Colonel Bourchier, "the road was one continued line of carts, guns, ammunition-wagons, camels rushing about without their drivers, and baggage of every description. Not a gun or a cart re-crossed the stream. All became prize. Thirteen pieces of ordnance, with an enormous quantity of ammunition, were brought into camp." "The road next day," adds Mr. Phillipps, "and the field for a distance of half a mile on both sides, were literally covered with dead bodies. The number of killed could not have been under a thousand. On our side the loss was 15 killed and 50 wounded. Our troops did not return to camp till 7 P.M. From first to last, in less than 36 hours, Greathed's cavalry and artillery had marched over 64 miles, his infantry 54.[1] They had, moreover, fought a general action on ground obstructed with crops of maize and other tall millets. As a feat of endurance the performance

[1] Malleson.

was splendid, although unequal to that of Lord Lake's force at Farukhabad in 1804.[1]

Greathed's force leaves for Cawnpore.

The battle was a surprise not only to ourselves, but to the enemy, who, believed that they had to deal with the Agra garrison only. The situation was indeed most dramatic; and was one of those accidents which rarely happen off the stage or outside the pages of a novel. Here suddenly met two forces who had no idea of each other's proximity, and whose meeting, if history were romance, would have been needed for the artistic development of the plot. For three days after the fight Greathed's column halted at Agra. Then, having left its wounded in the Pearl-Mosque hospital, and replenished its stores of ammunition, it departed for Cawnpore. While still in this district, at Firozabad, it was overtaken by Colonel Hope Grant, of the 9th Lancers, who superseded Greathed in its command. Meanwhile the villagers south of the Khárí had gathered and plundered the rebel fugitives. British property valued at over Rs. 4,000 was afterwards recovered by the police and sent into Agra.[2]

Some rebel fugitives occupy Fatehpur-Sikrí; but are expelled with loss (end of October).

No formidable rebel force, after the victory of Greathed and Cotton, disturbed the peace of the district. But the seditious Mewátís had by the end of October returned to Fatehpur-Síkrí; and they there harboured a detachment of mutineers who by way of Mathurá had fled from Dehli. Thinking it necessary to dislodge these dangerous neighbours, Cotton led a small force against them. The tahsíli, in which they had fortified themselves, was after severe resistance carried; and fifty of the rebels were slain. Cotton continued his progress into the Mathurá district; and everywhere, as he advanced, our government was re-established. Turbulent landholders thought it better to assume a harmless demeanour. If, as sometimes happened, the country folk of tahsíl Khairágarh showed signs of restiveness, the magistrate preferred "to leave the remedy to time" rather than "to use the military arm."[3]

Disturbances in Fatehabad, 26th-28th November;

But towards the close of November, the military arm was needed in Fatehabad. The landlords of Dhanaulá and Khander in that tahsíl had shown themselves "obstinately and pestilently rebellious." They now began strengthening their castles, while collecting arms and ammunition. On the 26th November, therefore, the magistrate marched with two guns and 100 matchlockmen against these villages. While reconnoitring in the ravines near Dhanaulá a lieutenant,

[1] See above, pp. 181-82. [2] Phillipps. [3] *Ibid.*

who had been sent in advance with some Sikh horsemen, was fired on by concealed parties. The result was a reinforcement from Agra, consisting of a small detachment of the 3rd Europeans, some Sikh sappers, and a howitzer. This force was commanded by Major Hennessy, and accompanied by the Commissioner. On the 28th, after being fired on in the gullies of Dhanaulá, it stormed the little castles at that place and Khander. The resistance was considerable, and the slaughter amongst the rebels great.

and in the north Jumna tahsíls. December—February.

But the example of revolt had proved contagious. On the last day of the month a messenger arrived in the camp at Fatehabad announcing that the boatmen of Chandwár in Firozabad, on the opposite bank of the Jumna, had murdered in cold blood 45 policemen. The victims had come to arrest some highway robbers, and becoming entangled towards night in the deep and intricate network of ravines which fringes the Jumna, had been surrounded and slain. The force at Fatehabad had, however, received Fraser's distinct orders to return to Agra without delay, and obeyed. When at length a visit of vengeance to the place of massacre was authorized, the surrounding villages were found deserted. The estate of Dharpura, in the adjoining tahsíl of Itimádpur, had for arrears of land-tax been temporarily taken from its owners and let to the army contractor, Jotí Prashád Khatrí. The principal proprietor, Har Lál, a notorious criminal, took advantage of the disturbances to return from the exile into which he had fled. On the 19th December he ejected the servants of Jotí Prashád, and opened a campaign of wide and impartial freebooting. He became the centre to which all the bad characters of the neighbourhood gravitated; and before the 4th February, when a force marched against him from Agra and crushed him with ease, he had plundered no less than 29 villages.

Brigadier Showers makes an expedition into tahsíl Panáhat, March, 1858.

"Why was he not checked before?" Because Agra was too destitute of troops. But when Brigadier Showers arrived to command and pacify the district, we were once more in a position to compel obedience to Government. One of the new commander's first acts was to visit tahsíl Panáhat and wreak vengeance on some local rebels who had plundered the town of Báh and murdered its native authorities (20th March). Making a long night march, he next surprised the insurgents at Kachrú (Kachaurá?)[1] and captured their ringleaders. But, until Gwáliár surrendered to Sir Hugh Rose, in June, 1858, the south-Jumna country swarmed with small bands of rebels, whilst attacks from larger bodies might at any time be expected. The guns of the fort were kept pointed

[1] Malleson, Bk. XV., chap. 3

at the city, a possible *focus* of revolt; and no European living beyond the range of those guns seems to have felt his life secure.[1] But, to protect the city itself from night-attacks, Mr. Reade encircled it with a wall called the Barrier or *Shahr-pandh*. It was pierced, at the entrances of the principal roads, with gates; but these gates remained closed from 9 P.M. till gunfire next morning. Burglaries within the wall were, Mr. Phillipps tells us, almost unknown. Conspicuous services towards the restoration of order in the neighbourhood were rendered by Meade's horse. This regiment had been raised at Agra in December (1857), *to supply the want of cavalry and mounted orderlies.*

Peace is at last restored, June, 1858.

On the 1st June, 1858, the Mahárája Sindia was attacked and driven from Gwáliár by rebels under Tántia Topi. Having fled to Dholpur he was thence escorted, by a squadron of Meade's horse, into Agra; but on the 14th left to join Sir Hugh Rose at Murár in his own territory. At Murár, on the 17th and 19th, Tántia Topi was defeated. To prevent the flying mutineers from escaping by way of Bhartpur, Showers despatched to that city from Agra a detachment of the 3rd Europeans and a battery of artillery. Its presence having induced Tántia to turn his retreating steps southwards, this little force returned through Fatehpur-Síkrí to Agra. Thenceforward all resistance ceased. "The one chieftain whose name had been a beacon of hope to the marauder" was crushed.[2] Although parts of the district were sometimes disturbed by incursions of gang-robbers from across the Chambal, by the passage of fugitive rebels, and by the restiveness of villages near the frontier, the transition from anarchy to order was swift and sure.[3]

Remaining events in the history of the district, 1858-80.

Few matters remain to be mentioned. In 1860-61 the district was attacked by the drought and scarcity already described.[4] In 1867, its capital became the scene of an exhibition at which the products and manufactures of all districts in the provinces were displayed. To make way for the traffic going to this show, the Sháhganj road was widened; and the old Ajmer gate of the city was, lamentably though perhaps inevitably, removed. The exhibition was about the last sign which Agra was destined to give of her supremacy amongst the cities of the North-West. In 1868 the head-quarters of the provinces were transferred to Allahabad, which had by this time become the railway centre of India. The *High Court of Judicature* lingered on at Agra for another year; but on the departure of this august tribunal the place once more subsided into the

The head quarters of the North-Western Provinces are transferred from Agra to Allahabad, 1868-69.

[1] Malleson, Bk. XV, chap. 3. [2] Malleson. [3] Phillipps. [4] See pp 459-60.

position of a provincial town. The years 1868 and 1869 were marked also by another famine.[1] In January, 1876, the district was visited by the Prince of Wales, who had been preceded several years before by his brother the Duke of Edinburgh. Sir John Strachey, who was Lieutenant-Governor at the time of the Prince's visit, did much to preserve and repair the ancient historical buildings of Agra.

Conclusion.

The latest and completest assessment of land revenue lasted from 1872 to 1880.[2] Towards the close of its operations, in 1877-78, the district again suffered severely from famine.[3] The growth which has latterly taken place in the railway system must, by hastening the importation of grain from well-stocked tracts, tend in future to lighten such calamities. Nor, if the iron road prove a friend in need, will it fail to enrich the district in times of plenty. Agra has now more lines of rail than any other district in the North-West. And these, converging towards its capital, may some day bring the city of Akbar a commercial wealth which will go far to console it for the lost glories of political greatness.

[1] See pp. 460-61. [2] Above, pp. 524-29. [3] See pp. 461-65.

GAZETTEER

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

AGRA DISTRICT.

PART IV.

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NOTE.—This list contains the names of all tahsíls, tahsíl capitals, house-tax towns, police-stations (not out posts), post-offices, villages over 3,000 inhabitants, and places of historical or antiquarian interest. The latitudes and longitudes have been kindly supplied by Mr. J. B. N. Hennessey, M.A., Deputy Superintendent, Survey of India (Trigonometrical Branch).

Achhnera.—Agricultural town in the north-west of tahsíl Kiráoli; distant 18 miles west from Agra, and 3 miles north-north-west from Kiráoli, on the high road from Agra to Bhartpur and Jaipur. Latitude 27°-10′-47″; longitude 77°-48′-42″. Population (1881) 3,824 (1,794) females), chiefly Játs, Brahmans, Baniás, and Chamárs. The new Rájputána State Railway passes north of the town and has a station here. There is a small stone fort, apparently of middle age, now considerably dismantled. Achhnera has a second-class

police-station, an imperial post-office, a town (*parganah*) school, a bázár, an inn (*sarái*), and an encamping-ground. A market is held every Wednesday.

The village is said, by one account, to have been founded by a Ját named Achhnidhar about 1250 A.D. Another account makes the founder to have been Achal Rája, one of the sons of Anang Pál, the Tomar king of Dehli, who commenced his reign in 1051 A.D. Mr. Carlleyle (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, VI., 7) notices the latter of these legends, but prefers to derive the name from *achchha* and *ner*, 'the pleasant vicinity,' *ner* being, he thinks, a suffix signifying possession. He instances such names as Bika-ner, 'belonging to Bika;' Jag-ner, 'allotted to the Jags,' &c. Be this as it may, it is on record that after the sack of Ol by Súrajmal in 1738 A.D. he granted the Achhnera estate of 23 villages as a marriage portion, and further conferred an appanage (*jágír*) of the value of Rs. 60,000 on his son-in-law. This *jágír* was constituted into parganah Achhnera and a tahsíli set up there. From this time the place rose in importance till it attained the rank of a provincial town (*kasba*). When Najaf Khán in 1187 H. (A.D. 1773-74) overthrew the Játs, he took to himself the Achhnera estate (*'ilaka*) with *kasba* Ol, excepting 27 villages transferred to Bhartpur. On the British occupation, in 1803, the tahsíldárí of Achhnera was retained, but in the year 1832, 27 villages of the Farah parganah were retransferred to the newly-formed district of Muttra, and the Achhnera *'iláka* of 49 villages (the *jágír* of Rs. 60,000) was added to the Farah parganah. Since the removal of the tahsíli from Achhnera the place has declined; the old tahsíli is now in ruins.

Aela.—Agricultural town in the centre of tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 20 miles south-south-west from Agra, and 6 miles east-north-east from Khairágarh. Latitude 26°-57′-50″; longitude 77°-55′-58″. Population (1881) 3,531 (1,460 females). A weekly market is held here.

Agra, Sadr, or H'azúr tahsíl, is bounded on the north and north-east by the Jumna, separating it from parganahs Mahában and Sa'dabad of Muttra and I'timádpur of Agra; on the east by Fatehabad; on the south by Irádatnagar and a small piece of Khairágarh; on the west by Fatehpur Síkri; and on the north-west by Farah. Its greatest length from the Jumna, on the north, to Junái, on the south, is about eighteen miles, and the greatest breadth from Mahuar, on the west, to Burhána, on the east, is the same; so that all the parganah lies within a radius of 9 miles from the centre. The total area in 1881-82 was 201·7 square miles, of which 144·0 were cultivated, 35·0 cultivable, and 22·7 barren. The area paying Government revenue or quit-rent was 191·0 square miles (136·0 cultivated, 33·0 cultivable, 22·0 barren). The amount of payment to Government, whether land-revenue

Boundaries, area, &c.

or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates), was Rs. 2,27,939; or, with local rates and cesses, Rs. 2,58,153. The amount of rent, including local cesses paid by cultivators, was Rs. 4,35,179.

The tahsíl (and parganah), as at present constituted, differs from its constitution at the recent settlement. In October, 1878, the following changes were made: 9 villages were transferred to it from the Irádatnagar tahsíl (since abolished as such) and 15 from the Fatehabad tahsíl. Three villages of the Hazúr tahsíl were transferred at the same time to Khairágarh [see Notification No. 3090A. of 14th October, 1878, in *Gazette, North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, of 26th October, 1878].

Population.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 145 inhabited towns and villages: of which 12 had less than 200 inhabitants; 53 between 200 and 500; 48 between 500 and 1,000; 22 between 1,000 and 2,000; 8 between 2,000 and 3,000; and 1 between 3,000 and 5,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Agra (160,203). The total population was 266,765 (122,400 females), giving a density of 1,322 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 207,056 Hindus (94,201 females); 52,936 Musalmáns (25,636 females); 1,699 Jains (778 females); 4,667 Christians (1,867 females); and 407 others (16 females).

Physical features.

The Jumna, forming the north and north-east boundary of the tahsíl, is its chief natural feature. Its general direction, from where it enters the tahsíl on the west to where it leaves it on the east, is slightly south of east, and the distance from point to point about thirteen miles; but by the river's course it must be thirty. Soon after entering the tahsíl it makes a long detour to the north, enclosing a peninsula scarcely above a mile in width, but four in length. After flowing for a short time in its normal direction it takes another bend to the north, and then flows nearly south for a distance of about seven miles to Agra, whence it turns off again in a direction rather north of east.

Ravines of the Jumna.

With a river with so long a course and so many turns, the ravine area of the tahsíl must necessarily be large. Although not so deep as further down the course of the river, the ravines are sufficiently marked and distinct to form a prominent natural feature. An average width of a mile or more from the water's edge is cut up, and, as a rule, rendered unculturable by the water-courses. The principal feeders extend still further inland, and almost invariably have broken ground along their edges. In places, as on the long promontory to the north-west already mentioned, and on the

west bank of the long reach of the river running north of Agra, the ground is less cut up, and there is here a gradual slope of cultivation, broken and irregular down to the river bank. But as a rule, with the exception of dry patches on the tops of headlands, and irregular pieces winding along the hollows, the ravines are unculturable. Even the extensive peninsula to the north of Agra, though the ground is not much broken, is, to a great extent, uncultivated. Here, however, as in places elsewhere, *múnj* grass grows largely and is a valuable product. These ravines also, though exceedingly bare, generally afford an extensive pasturage ground, especially valuable from its proximity to a great city.

Khádar.

For a great part of the river's course the ravines extend to the water's edge, forming the actual bank in the rainy season, but to the north-west, more especially in Mau and Jagan-pur, there are extensive lowlying tracts of real *khádar*. These are large flats of alluvial soil, subject to inundation from the river and growing capital spring crops. The outer edges of these flats are subject to fluvial action, and beyond them are the sandbeds left by the river after the rains. These shift from year to year as the river changes its course. In them, especially near the city, an extensive and valuable tillage of melons and other similar vegetables is carried on, promoted in great measure by the facilities for obtaining town manure. Thus there is a large area of alluvial *mahâls* with a varying revenue demand.

The western drainage.

Above the ravines, the level country spreads out to the west and south, without any interruption from natural features till the "western drainage" depression is reached, skirting the villages on the west and crossing those on the south; while beyond it again the Khári nadi crosses a few villages at the extreme south-south-west of the tahsíl. In the upper part of its course the western drainage is no more than a depression, scarcely perceptible, which does not interfere with cultivation, beyond rendering a width of two or three fields unfit for any but spring cultivation, which is, however, of superior quality. The fields on either side are slightly on the slope and of lighter soil. These characteristics are intensified in the lower part of its course; in particular, the width of fields on the slope increases, so that there is often a large tract of dry inferior land on the bank of, and draining into, the depression; here and there, too, pieces of waste crop out; till, on the east of the parganah, these characteristics are so developed, that the depression becomes a clear distinct tract fit for good spring cultivation. The river bed is here marked by rising banks of light *kankar* soil, generally uncultivated, or, if tilled, dry and unproductive; while beyond and above this comes the level upland.

Along the banks of the Khári nadi, as it passes through this parganah, is a considerable width of broken ravine ground, generally waste, fringed by dry fields of light sandy soil and irregular surface. There is not much cultivation in the actual bed of the river, which is to a great extent gravelly and rocky. But there is a good deal of fair *khátiri* cultivation on the sloping banks, peas and *bejhar* (*i.e.*, barley-gram) being grown without irrigation on the soil left damp by the subsidence of the water.

Ravines of the Khári nadi.

Of the upper level country, that in the neighbourhood of the ravines is considerably affected by them. The belt of actual sandy soil is not perhaps very wide; but there is a broad tract of country where the soil is of varying character, and the surface undulating. Here the character of the soil is, on the whole, light, the proportion of dry land large, and well-making difficult. The group of villages lying to the south-east and east of Agra city is, on the whole, of this character, having a light loam soil, and the villages to the immediate south of cantonments are even more so, the soil becoming decidedly sandy and poor. To the west of cantonments and Sháhganj the light soil is underlaid by *kankar* beds, and the frequent digging of *kankar* pits has made the surface of whole villages very irregular. To the west of Agra, out to the Farah boundary, runs a tract of villages, parallel to the general direction of the Jumna that are also, on the whole, of light soil, often a fairly productive loam, but in places sandy and dry. For the rest, the country to the west and south, with few exceptions beyond those caused by the natural features already noted, *viz.*, the western drainage and the Khári nadí, is a level tract of good loam.

Level uplands.

Alongside the natural features, what may be called the artificial features of the parganah require some notice. The villages round Agra, especially those on the north-west, have been considerably affected by the growth of the city. Again, improvements and alterations of roads, and the making of railways, have to some extent changed the aspect of many villages; but nothing is so likely to cause changes as the new canal, and this quite independently of its irrigating effect. The northern portion of the parganah is crossed directly from west to east by the navigation channel of the Agra canal, entering at Panwárí on the west, and falling into the Jumna in Ghatwásan, just above the city, its course through the parganah being about nine miles. Again, the main irrigation channel entering at Atús crosses the parganah diagonally to south-east, passing into parganah Iradatnagar at Pach-

Artificial features.

Agra canal.

gáin, a distance in a straight line of eleven miles. These large channels, with bridges, as a rule, at a distance of two miles from each other, may considerably diminish the rental value of a particular *hár* of a village, by rendering it distant and inaccessible, a most important consideration. Well-making, too, is affected, without always an adequate return in the way of canal water. Thus, though the whole result may be good, the circumstances of particular villages may be considerably affected by the canals. Besides the main canal, there is the Agra *rájbahá*, running parallel to it on the south, entering the tahsíl at Nagla Kuktalá on the west, and terminating in Báin Khera, where its tail waters fall into the Irádatnagar *rájbahá*. The latter, taking its start from the main canal at that point, flows south-easterly through several villages of the parganah, leaving it at Bád. The tail end of the Fatehpur Sikri *rájbahá* also crosses a few villages at the extreme south-west, falling there into the Khári nadi. Though minor obstructions to passage compared with the main canals, the inconvenience experienced by the villagers in fording these channels, when full, is considerable.

Communications.

The map shows the whole parganah covered with roads spreading out from Agra like a fan. The principal metalled roads are the Muttra, the Bhartpur, and the Fatehpur-Sikri roads on the west and the Gwáliár road to the south. The principal unmetalled roads are the Fatehabad road to the south-east, the Khairágarh road to the south-west, and the Irádatnagar and Shamsabad roads to the south-south-east; but besides these there are numerous other fair village cart roads running out from Agra, and numerous cart-tracks crossing from village to village. Besides the roads the Rajputána State Railway running due west has a station at Bichpuri seven miles distant from Agra on the Bhartpur road, while the Sindhia State Railway running to the south has a station at Bhandai, eight miles from Agra.

Sources of irrigation.

As yet wells are the great source of irrigation and about seventeen per cent. of the area irrigated from wells is watered from masonry ones. In the neighbourhood of Agra are many old "*Bádsháhí*" masonry wells, constructed originally for pleasure gardens and the like, but now used for irrigation; and the making of *pakka* wells for new pleasure gardens, and in groves and on roadsides for drinking purposes, is always going on. Most of the *pakka* wells are of brick and mortar; but to the westwards, shafts of hewn stone, uncemented, are used, such as prevail all over parganahs Khairágarh and Fatehpur-Sikri. In constructing these wells (called *khandawa*) the well is sunk, and the shaft or cylinder built up from the bottom, and not the cylinder sunk gradually, as in the case of brick and mortar wells.

The depth of water from the surface varies, but the distance is, on the average, about 44 feet. In the *khádar* tract along the Jumna are a few *pakka* wells, where the lift is inconsiderable; and so too in the depression, where wells are not much made; but in all the villages along the Jumna ravines water is at a great depth and well-making expensive; so, too, along the Khári nadi. Brackish water is met with in both these tracts; but the general character of the water is good. Indeed, there are few localities where the water is noxious, for brackish water favours wheat cultivation, alternating with cotton, though it may prevent *arhar*, sugarcane, vegetables, &c., being grown. Along the river near the city are a few wells, or rather lifts, by means of which river water is raised and used for irrigation purposes. This is wonderfully fertilizing, favouring high cultivation, and causing proportionately high rents.

Canal irrigation.

The course of the canals has already been noticed. The canal irrigation affects mainly the villages to the west and south-west of the parganah; a level tract of first-rate loam soil, carefully cultivated, mainly in the hands of Játs.

Climate.

The parganah is remarkably dry and well drained, free from depressions or marshes where unhealthy accumulations of water can collect in the rains. But possibly the canals may produce some effect, having already raised the water level in their immediate vicinity; they have also frequently burst their banks, swamping considerable tracts of country.

Towns and markets.

With a large city like Agra for its head-quarters, easily accessible by good roads, and at no greater distance than twelve miles *from any village, the advantages of the tahsíl in point* of markets are self-evident. The city offers a ready market for ordinary agricultural produce. It also gives a great stimulus to particular forms of cultivation, such as vegetables, melons, and the like, in its immediate vicinity, affording, at the same time, additional facilities for that cultivation by the large supplies of manure available; while the immense demand for food and fodder gives a marketable value to every stick of wood and every blade of grass. When this is the case it may be judged how much the value of the fodder part of regular agricultural produce, the *karb* and *bhúsá*, is enhanced; so that what in distant villages is so much waste has here a high market value. No doubt this will in great measure account for the high rental paid by dry lands in a great part of the parganah. The high rental value of the ravines as grazing lands has already been noted, and even small patches of waste near the city that grow nothing but grass let at high rates. The seeds of the very thistles

are carefully gathered by Chamárs, to be pressed for oil, and their roots dug up for firing.

Trade and manufactures.

Notwithstanding the large size of the city, and its importance as a trade centre, it does not swallow up all the trade. There are many important villages in the parganah with a considerable local trade. Malpura and Midhákur, both at one time tahsílís, have considerable local bázárs and weekly markets, and there are six other weekly markets at various places. The principal articles of trade at these are shoes and leather, country cloth, grain, and the like. Midhákur and Akola are both places where earthenware is largely manufactured. Country cloth is made in some villages, but manufactures are chiefly confined to the city. Mr. Wright's indigo factory at Itaura now belongs to Bábu Bishambhar Náth, but is not regularly worked, and there are many disused vats in various parts of the parganah. A factory under European supervision is working at Sonári. It has two tanks and ten pairs of vats, and an average outturn of, at present, about 30 maunds. Besides the every-day bázár there are important markets twice a week at Sultánpur in cantonments; where, in addition to the usual articles of trade, cattle are largely sold; and this is now the cattle mart of the parganahs, having quite superseded the old one at Siámau.

Prevailing castes.

At the time of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (A.D. 1596), Lodhas chiefly, and Brahmans, were the prevailing land-owning castes. But, since then, the Játs, pressing on from the westwards, have driven them out of the villages to the west, and huddled them up in a corner to the south-east. Játs form the resident village communities in all the villages west and south-west; and west of a line from Muhammadpur, on the north, to Kábulpur, on the south, nearly the whole agricultural population consists of Játs. Brahmans and Lodhas have survived in a few villages; there are two Thákur villages in the centre of the parganah; one Ahír village to the extreme west, and some traces of Ahírs elsewhere. In places, more especially where the proprietary rights have passed from the village communities, servile castes, such as Chamárs and Káchhís, form a considerable portion of the cultivating population. But, with these exceptions, every inhabited site in the tract in question is a Ját village. The condition of the caste is, however, far from thriving; in many cases the proprietorship in the village has been entirely lost; in very few has it been retained intact; and those communities are lucky where transfers have been confined to other members of their own caste. Káyaths, Khatrís, and Musalmáns of Agra, and the village Bohrás and Baniás, are the principal transferees. The Játs are often good, hard-working cultivators; many

of them combine carting as an occupation with agriculture; but few of them have attained any wealth or position. Probably large families, inability to stand the pressure of bad seasons, and want of capital, have led to their gradual fall. East of the line mentioned few Játs are to be found.

General condition of the people.

The average size of an agricultural holding is 6·87 acres, or much smaller than in any other parganah except Panáhat; and this may, no doubt, be partially accounted for by the dense population and consequent increased competition for land. The area cultivated per head of the agricultural population, 1·5 acres, is also small as compared with other parganahs, but not to so marked a degree as in Panáhat, and the number of persons supported by each holding bears somewhat of a proportion to its small size, being only 4·58. The agricultural population would not, therefore, seem to press unduly upon the soil, though no doubt the competition is keen

Fiscal history: early settlements.

This parganah was comprised in the Ját tappas of Gáoghát, Kágáraul, and Midhákur of the old Haveli Agra *mahál*. Under the Játs there were four tahsílís, *viz.*, Náharganj (Basái), Mandaviahan (Lohámandi), Malpura, and Karahra (in parganah Fatehpur-Síkri), and these parganahs, with the exception of Náharganj, are mentioned in the treaty of Anjangáon, 1803, as ceded by Sindhia. They had been held up till that time by Colonels George and John Hessing. These three parganahs contained far more than the present parganah, as may be judged from the revenues given in the treaty:—Karahra, Rs. 76,697; Malpura, Rs. 1,20,145; Lohámandi, Rs. 1,36,425; total, Rs. 3,33,267.

Lohámandi comprised the greater part of the tahsíl; the total revenue of which for 1210 *fasli* (A D. 1802-3), the year before the conquest, is given by Mr. Mansel as Rs. 1,77,006. But in the first two years of English rule it was far less, *viz.*, Rs. 90,490 and Rs. 1,07,129 respectively. Subjoined is a table of the successive settlements: —

Years.		Name of settlement.	Jama.
A.D.	Fasli.		Rs. a. p.
1802-03 ...	1210 ...	Year before annexation	1,77,006 0 0
1803-04 ...	1211 ...	„ after „	90,490 0 0
1804-05 ...	1212 ...	2nd year „ „	1,07,129 0 0
1805-08 ...	1213-15 ...	First triennial	1,87,608 0 0
1808-11 ...	1216-18 ...	Second „	1,51,210 8 0
		Quinquennial	1,66,356 8 0
1815-20 ...	1223-27 ...	Quinquennial increased by resumption of *muáfis*.	1,98,425 0 0
		Regulation VII. of 1822	2,01,934 10 0
1840-41 ...	1248 ...	Regulation IX. of 1833	1,83,715 0 0
1879 ...	1287 ...	Current settlement	2,06,430 0 0

The last expired settlement.

The area subject to transfer during the currency of the recently-expired settlement was 79,368, or 71 per cent., and that permanently alienated 46,552, or 42 per cent. Some idea may be formed of the way in which transfers have affected the various castes by the following statement of percentages:—

Caste.	Last settlement.	Present.
Ját	22	24 6
Brahman	15	19 8
Musalmán	13·76	9·9
Baniá	10	9 1
Khattrí	2 5	8·6
Rájput	6 75	7·3
Ahír	6	7·
Káyath	4	5 5
Lodhá	8	3·4
European	9	1·2
Purbiá	...	2·1
Miscellaneous	2·25	1·5
Undescribed	·75	...
Total	100	100

From this the marked losers appear to be Europeans, Lodhás, and Musalmáns; and the chief gainers Khatrís and Brahmans. The estates held by Mr. Wright were transferred mostly to the late Ráo Joti Prasád (Khatrí), who also acquired a good deal of the estates of the Mughals of Barára. The falling condition of the Lodhás has already been noticed, and the increase in Brahmans' estates is partly to be attributed to the acquisition by Bohrás, Chaubes, and Káshmíri Pandits, not regular land-owning castes. Musalmáns would have shown a much larger area as lost had not a large area been freshly acquired by other members of the class. With Játs considerable transfers have occurred within the body.

The rise in price, shown by statistics of transfers by private sale during the currency of the expired settlement, is steady and marked; and the gross result is that where land was 35 years ago worth two years' purchase of the *jama* it is now worth nearly eight. In cases of appropriation of lands for public purposes as much as Rs. 100 per acre has been claimed by proprietors and allowed.

The areas held by the different classes of tenants at the recent settlement is shown as follows:—

Class.	Area.	Percentage.
Sír	31,495	37 3
Maurúsi (occupancy)	43,271	51·2
Ghair-maurúsi (non-occupancy)	9,721	11·5

Agra.—[1]The second largest city as regards population (Benares being the first) in the North-Western Provinces, in the district and division of the same name. It lies in north latitude 27°-10′-29·4″, and east longitude 78°-5′-3·6″, [2]at a distance of 279 miles by rail from Allahabad, of 843 miles from Calcutta, and of 139 miles from Dehli. By the census of 1881 the area (including Sháhganj and Tájganj) was 14,081 acres, with a total population of 160,203[3] (73,375 females), giving a density of 11·3 to the acre. The Hindus numbered 109,056 (49,113 females); Musalmáns 45,579 (22,143 females); Jains, 1,109 (498 females); Christians, 4,073 (1,605 females); and those of other religions, 406 (16 females). The following is a statement of the principal occupations in the municipality :—[4]

Position, area, and population.

(I) Persons employed by Government or municipality 1,880; (II) persons connected with the army 2,486; (III) ministers of the Hindu religion 682, ministers of the Muhammadan religion 39, Protestant ministers 12; (IV) barristers and pleaders 81; (V) *hakims* 57, druggists, 47; (*VI*) *letter-writers* 42; (*VIII*) *musicians* 180, *singers and dancers* 60; (*IX*) school teachers (not Government) 201; (XI) inn-keepers (*bhatiyára*) 109; (XII) domestic servants 2,887, others engaged in attendance 1,502; (XIII) merchants 174, money lenders and bankers 101, money changers 189, brokers 518, shop-keepers (branch undefined) 233, small-ware dealers (*bisáti*) 183; (XV) carters 866, letters-out and drivers of camels 84, hackney carriage keepers 189, palanquin keepers and bearers 534; (XVI) boat-owners and boatmen 99; (XVII) weighmen 121, porters 1,890, messengers 616; (XVIII) landholders 276, landholders' establishment 68, cultivators and tenants 1,012, gardeners 282, agricultural labourers 210; (XIX) farriers and veterinary surgeons (*salotri*) 63, cattle-dealers 91, horse-keepers and elephant-drivers 602, fowlers (*chirimár*) 80; (XX) booksellers 41, printers 43, librarians 63; (XXVII) carpenters 793, bricklayers and masons 1,153, house-*painters and glaziers* 136, cabinet-*makers* 42, *furniture*-dealers 101; (XXVIII) saltpetre-manufacturers 78, (XXIX) blanket weavers and sellers 52, shawl and cashmere cloth-dealers 96, silk-spinners 211, silk and gold thread twisters 93, cotton-*merchants* 118, cotton carders 121, cotton-spinners 44, weavers 2,302, calico-printers and dyers 415, carpet weavers and sellers 594, cloth merchants (*bazdz*) 652, braid and fringe makers 285, tailors 1,258, shoe makers and sellers 915, bangle-sellers 209, turban-binders 60, rope and string makers and sellers 365, makers and sellers of sacks and bags 53, washermen 797, barbers 534; (XXX) milk-sellers 242, makers and sellers of butter, *ghi* and cheese 51, butchers 715, *corn and flour dealers* 2,278, bread and biscuit bakers (in European manner) 52, confectioners (*halwái*) 1,066, green grocers and fruiterers 986, itinerant victuallers (*khánchawáls*) 297, grain-parchers 208, tobacconists 364, *hukka* and *hukka* tube makers 44, native spirit distillers and vendors 65, betel-leaf and nut sellers 120, condiment-dealers (*pansári*) 453, dung-fuel sellers 228, hide-dealers 174, tanners and leather workers 443; (XXXII) manufacturers and sellers of oil 452, timber, wood, *bamboo and thatching-grass sellers* 202, wood-turners 113, basket-makers

[1] This notice has been compiled from a very full note written by Mr. T. Benson, C.S., in 1872-73, and from more recent materials supplied by Messrs Finlay, Baillie, and Hamblin. The works of Messrs Fergusson and Keene have been freely utilized in the notice of ancient buildings, and Mr. Tupp's article for the Imperial Gazatteer has also been used. [2] These are the latitude and longitude of the Táj Mahal dome. [3] 149,008 in 1872. [4] Roman numerals indicate the classes in the census returns.

156, grass cutters and sellers 438, chaff-sellers 193, mat makers and sellers 94, thatchers 83, manufacturers and sellers of paper 106; (XXXIII) stone quarriers and cutters 430, mosaic-workers 152, excavators and road labourers 563, sweepers and scavengers 1,202, earthenware-manufacturers 68, pottery toy makers 88, water-carriers 1,817, cutters and polishers of precious stones 41, gold and silver smiths 648, gold and silver lace makers and sellers 211, embroiderers in gold thread 94, electro platers 51, tinmen 124, braziers and copper-smiths 522, wire drawers 267, *bichhud* (a sort of dagger) makers 123, blacksmiths 482, ironmongers 118, (XXXIV) general labourers 3,998, contractors 101, persons in (undefined) service (*naukari*) 2,457, pensioners 143, (XXXV) beggars 995.

Site and general appearance.

The modern city of Agra lies mainly on the right bank of the Jumna, where that river turns sharply from south-by-west to a north-by-east direction. There is a considerable quarter, however, on the opposite or left bank of the river surrounding the East India Railway (goods) station, but within municipal limits. In this outlying quarter are found some of the most interesting of the older buildings, such as the tomb of I'timád-ud-daula, the Rám Bágh, the Chiní-ká-Rauza, &c. The Fort is perched in the angle formed by the bend of the river, on the very edge of the right bank. The cantonments are to the south of the Fort, and beyond them on the river bank, a little to the eastward, rises the famous mausoleum of the Táj. North-west of the Fort stretch, in an extended line, the buildings, to be presently described, of the civil station. The native city lies chiefly to the east of the central part of the civil station, between it and the Jumna, but some part of it lies to the west of the Drummond road. Throughout the civil station and in its immediate neighbourhood are numerous scattered hamlets occupied by the native population. The native town is probably better built than any other in the North-Western Provinces, and contains a much larger proportion of masonry houses. The sites of all three divisions of the city—cantonments, civil station, and native town—are generally level, but a few ravines running up from the Jumna intersect the civil station and the native town. Of these one starts from the river near the Fort and runs westward, past the magistrate's court-house and the Government gardens; a second starts from near the great mosque and traverses the city as far as the Agra College, when it bends back to the municipal office and extends westward to the old Government House. The whole space between the Fort and the Táj is a mass of ravines which extend southwards almost as far as the cantonments. It is in this part of the city, the deserted site of former palaces and country seats, that the peoples' park will be made if ever that project is carried out. It has been conjectured that the present city occupies little more than half the area enclosed in the old city walls (to be mentioned again later on), the remainder consisting of ruins, ravines, and bare patches of open ground.

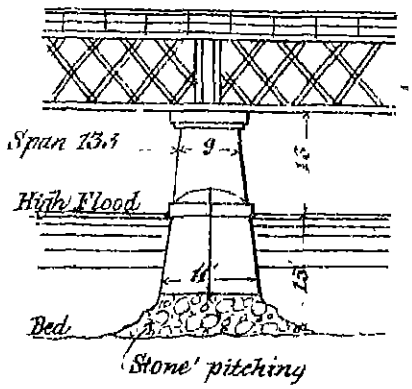
Three separate lines of railway and a large number of roads converge upon the city. The Agra branch of the East Indian Railway enters it from the east, and has its proper terminus on the left bank of the river; but the Fort station, which belongs to the Rájputána State Railway, is used by the East Indian Railway as its terminus for passenger traffic. From this station two narrow gauge lines of the Rájputána State Railway and the broad gauge line of the Gwáliár State Railway run parallel to each other past the cantonment (or Kathgarh) station, opened in 1873, which is used by both lines, and then diverge, the former towards Jaipur, Ajmir, and Bombay, and the latter towards Dholpur and Gwáliár.

Approaches by rail

The magnificent bridge across the Jumna, which was opened in 1876, was built for the Rájputána State Railway, and brought the East Indian Railway system on the left bank of the Jumna into connection with the two State railways on the right bank. The following brief descriptions of this important structure has been kindly furnished by Mr. G. V. Martyn, Executive Engineer :—

Jumna bridge.

"The Jumna bridge at Agra consists of 16 spans of 133 feet each, and its total length between faces of abutments is 2,260 feet. The piers consist of solid stone masonry, founded on three wells sunk 40 to 50 feet below the bed of the river. The accompanying is a rough sketch of one of the piers.



"The girders are what is technically known as 'double triangular,' and are designed to carry both road and railway. The roadway (which is on the top) is 16 feet wide, with trottoirs 4 feet wide for foot passengers on each side. The total width of roadway between the hand railings is therefore 24 feet.

"Fifteen feet below the roadway and between the girders is a combined broad and narrow guage tract to carry the traffic of the East Indian and Rájputána-Málwa lines. The trans-shipment of goods between these two railways takes place at the old East Indian Railway station on the left bank of the river."

The cost of the entire structure is stated at Rs. 13,00,000 (£130,000). The time occupied in its construction was five years.

Old pontoon bridge.

Above this bridge, at a distance of 975 yards, is the old pontoon bridge. It was constructed in 1848, and consists of a roadway, wide enough for two carriages to pass abreast, supported on 70 pontoons. The receipts from tolls shows that it is still largely used. These were in 1881-82 Rs. 40,820, as against an average of Rs. 65,464 realized during five years (1868-72), when it had the monopoly of the traffic.

Approaches and by road and river.

The approaches by road, although they have ceased to be of much commercial importance since the completion of the railways, may be briefly mentioned. They are, on the north-west, the old imperial road from Dehli through Muttra, known as the Muttra road, and continued across the river northwards towards Aligarh and eastwards towards I'timádpur; on the west, the Bhartpur and Fatehpur Síkri roads; on the south-west, the (unmetalled) Khairágarh road; on the south, the Gwáliár road, with a branch (unmetalled) near cantonments to Irádatnagar; on the south-east, unmetalled roads to Shamsábád and Fatehábád; and on the north-east (across the river), the roads to Aligarh and I'timádpur already mentioned. The river Jumna also affords a means of approach, but one little used in comparison with the others.

Modern city and its public buildings.

In the accompanying map of the city and environs of Agra will be found most of the places of importance, including the principal modern public buildings and a few of the ancient temples and mosques. These are either named or indicated by numbers in the body of the map, and the numbers are repeated in the lists on either side. In a subsequent part of this notice will be found full descriptions of the ancient buildings and of their situation; to avoid repetition we shall here confine our attention to the modern public buildings.

Starting from the south in cantonments, the lines of the European regiment are on the west, and those of the native infantry on the east. Then come, in a line from west to east, St. George's Church, the Sadr bázár, and the Metcalfe Memorial Hall. In the cantonments are also situated the offices of the commissariat and of the executive engineer, the post-office, telegraph office, and the Agra Club.

In the civil station are first, to the south, the new customs court-house and Lawrie and Staton's hotel (formerly General Husain 'Ali Khán's house). Then come the Bank of Bengal and the magisterial and revenue offices, lying west of the Fort. From this point the Drummond road runs nearly due north, and what are known as the old civil lines lie on either side of it. Along, or at a little distance from it, are found, at rather wide intervals, the

municipal offices, the Agra College, the Thomason Hospital, St. John's College and Mission Church, the Central Jail, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, and the old High Court buildings now used for the district civil courts. Adjoining the latter is the old Roman Catholic cemetery.

The civil lines do not now extend northwards beyond this point, but the road runs on three miles further to Puiya (or Poiya) ferry on the Jumna, and at one time it was lined with bungalows for a mile of that distance. On a road running west of, and parallel to, the Drummond road is the civil lines church, Saint Paul's, erected in 1855. A little west of this is the Kandahári Bágh, now the occasional residence of the rája of Bhartpur. Southwards, towards the city, is the Canning Girls' School. Near the Muttra road, which runs at right angles to the Drummond road, are the new District Jail, built by convict labour between 1868 and 1872, and the Lunatic Asylum. In the same neighbourhood is the Presbyterian Church. There are many other modern public buildings not enumerated above, but those mentioned are the most important. A few of them call for some further notice.

Roman Catholic Cathedral and Mission.

The Roman Catholic present Cathedral is a large building in the Italian style of architecture, consisting of a nave with clerestory, north and south aisles, transepts and choir, the east end surmounted by a lofty campanile in four stories, containing a peal of three bells. The extreme length of the building, including the portal at the west and the tower at the east, is 201 feet. Close to it is the old church, a low building on three rows of narrow arches, dating back from 1769. It was restored and enlarged in 1835 at the expense of John Baptist Filose, captain in the service of the *Marhattas*, but is now used as a school. The buildings of the Roman Catholic Mission cover a considerable space of ground, and the adjoining quarter of the native city is inhabited by native Christians, some of mixed descent. Many of these are descended from Portuguese and other old Christian families, the Mission dating back from about the middle of the fifteenth century.

Agra College.

The Agra College is a long and extensive range of buildings, to which embattled parapets and turrets lend a collegiate appearance. It contains a theatre, a library, one principal and seventeen subordinate lecture-rooms. The boarding-houses and play-grounds of the pupils lie on the right-hand side of the Drummond road.

Banks.

Besides the Bengal Bank already mentioned there are two other banks, the Uncovenanted and the Agra, both situated in cantonments not far from the Club.

Metcalfe Memorial Hall.

The Metcalfe Memorial Hall is a building erected in honor of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the first nominated lieutenant-governor of these provinces. It contains a large ball-room and a theatre.

Public gardens.

The cantonment or public gardens are a pleasant breathing space, containing a band-stand and a large tank; near the latter lies Jahángír's stone-bath removed from the Fort many years ago and described in the notice of that building. Opposite the gardens is the Agra residence of Maháráját Sindhia.

Fort railway station.

The Fort railway station lies close under the walls of the Fort, a considerable piece of the glacis having been cut into to make room for the necessary buildings. In this neighbourhood also is the new Town Hall, which was reconstructed in 1881, at a cost of Rs. 12,000. It stands in the centre of the new municipal grain market called Simsonganj, which was built in 1874 at a cost of Rs. 1,04,000. This market-place occupies the site of Dára Shikoh's palace. Here are also the *dharmsála*, dispensary, and poor-house.

Town Hall.

Muhallas.

The city is sub-divided into 212 *muhallas* or wards, which, for the purposes of the recent census operations, were classified into 17 circles. The list of muhallas contains among many uninteresting names a few that bear witness to former periods of its history, some enshrining the name of a famous citizen, others evidencing a fact of more than local importance. Thus Ráwatpára, the 'hamlet of Ráwats,' is said to have been inhabited by that clan before the present city was built. Sittí-khánam, 'Sittí's residence,' is a quarter so named from a maid of Núr Jahán's who lived there. Bázár Masjid Mu'tamid Khán retains the name of Jahángír's treasurer. Játpura, the 'Játs' quarter,' recalls the days of Ját occupation. Darbár Sháhjí takes its name from the famous Saint Sháh Wiláyat, whose tomb and mosque are here. I'timád-ud-daula obviously refers to the minister of that name. The other names are most of them merely names of occupations or of castes and may be passed over as of no value or special interest.

Tájganj, it may be remarked, appears to have chiefly arisen after the building of the Táj, from which it takes its name, but Náharganj, one of its muhallas, and some other parts of it are of older date. The cantonments are doubtless the newest portion of the city and date only from the beginning of the present century.

There was an old city wall, which will be referred to presently, and also a more modern one; the latter was erected for police purposes in 1813, but was demolished in 1881. The old wall was much the more extensive of the two. It is said by one authority (Maulavi Kamar-ud-dín) to have been built in the reign of Muhammad Sháh by Súbadár Jai Sinh, or between 1719 and 1748 A.D. The same writer elsewhere refers to a wall as existing in the time of Akbar and his immediate successors. Bernier, however, writing in 1655-67, distinctly says that the city was then unwalled. The line of this old wall, whether of Akbar's time or of Muhammad Sháh's, has been recently traced by remains still standing in several parts of the city, and is held to have included an area of about 11 square miles.

Old city wall.

Judged by sanitary statistics, the health of the native city cannot be pronounced good, the mean death-rate per 1,000, for the five years preceding 1881, being 62·12 as compared with 38·05, the average of all towns in the provinces. The city, as a whole, however, presents in all its more public portions the appearance of careful management on the part of the municipal authorities. The drainage of the streets is said to be generally good, and a large proportion of the municipal income is devoted to its maintenance and improvement.

Health and drainage.

Perhaps the high death-rate, if it exists in fact and is not merely the result of defective registration, may be connected with the deficient water-supply. The sources of this are the Jumna and wells round the city, but the quality of the water is bad and the *quantity insufficient. It is proposed, however, to sink an artesian well, and if* the experiment proves successful there will be an ample supply of good water [*Sanitary Report of the Municipality for* 1881-82]. The potable waters of Agra were analysed by Dr. May in the cold weather of 1867. He gave an analysis of the water from thirty-five wells; and from this and his report Dr. Macnamara considered that the water-supply for both the civil and military lines is very defective. There was only one really good well, the Moti Kúa, and this was open to the public. The artillery had no good wells, the infantry only two that were fairly good; the wells in the Fort were bad and those outside little better.

Water-supply.

The principal public institutions have been described in the district notice with more or less of detail. The Agra College, described in the district notice (*supra* p. 503) as a Government institution, has been, from the present year (1883), made over to a local committee

Modern public institutions: educational;

of management and will no longer be classed among Government, but among aided, colleges. The transfer of the college and school buildings, together with the whole annual income realised from the Gangádhar Shástri endowment, to a board of trustees and a managing committee provisionally for five years, but with a promise of permanency if the management is successful, was sanctioned by the Government of India on the 14th April, 1883. The annual grant-in-aid will be about Rs. 10,000, the income from the endowment is about Rs 22,600, from fees and rents and interest on invested subscription Rs. 5,100, and from a grant by the municipality Rs. 8,000, making a total normal income of Rs. 45,700. The municipal grant is dependent upon the means and pleasure of the municipality. This income, it should be stated, has to meet the cost also of the school attached to the college.

There is nothing to add to the accounts of the other local educational institutions given in the district notice. But the following list (kindly supplied by the Director of Public Instruction) of all the principal colleges and schools, with the official classification, and the number of pupils on the rolls in 1882, will enable the reader to see at a glance the extent to which the educational wants of the city are met :—

Name of college or school (boys' or girls')	Government, aided, or private.	Classification, *i.e.*, College, high, Anglo-vernacular, middle, or primary (or several combined).	Number of pupils on rolls.
Agra College (boys') ...	*Aided* ...	*College, high, Anglo-vernacular, middle and primary combined.*	*511 in school department and 20 in college department.*
Tájganj Tahsíli School (boys').	Government,	Vernacular, middle and primary combined.	56
St. John's College (boys') ...	Aided ...	College, high, Anglo-vernacular, middle and primary combined.	414
Victoria High School (boys'),	Ditto ...	High, Anglo-vernacular, middle and primary combined.	324
St. Peter's Collegiate School (*European boys'*).	Ditto ...	English, high, middle and *primary combined.*	106
Mufid-i-ám School (boys') ...	Ditto ...	Anglo-vernacular, middle and primary combined.	285
St. Paul's Orphanage (European boys').	Ditto ...	English, middle and primary combined.	80
St. Patrick's Orphanage (European girls').	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto ...	109
St. John's Branch School, Lohámandi (boys').	Ditto ...	Primary ...	77
Victoria Branch School, Gokulpura (boys').	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	80
Church Mission School, Katra (girls').	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	34

Name of college or school (boys' or girls').	Government aided or private.	Classification, *i.e.*, College, high, Anglo-vernacular, middle or primary (or several combined).	Number of pupils on rolls.
Four Church Mission Schools (girls').	Aided ...	Primary ...	130
St. Joseph's Orphanage (girls').	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	142
Canning Protestant Girls' School (European).	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	50
Agra Mixed Boys' and Girls' School for Europeans and *Eurasians*.	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	60
Hariparbat School (boys') ...	Private ...	Ditto ...	40
Kotwáli (boys') ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	40
Dev Datt's School (boys') ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	40
Jánki Ballabh's Rikábganj School (boys')	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	50
Jámi' Masjid School (boys')...	Ditto ...	Religious vernacular, high, middle and primary combined.	130

Religious;

The religious institutions were briefly described in the notice of the district, and it will be only necessary here to give a brief resumé. The Roman Catholics had a mission in Agra in the 15th century. Sháh Jahán is said (by Bernier) to have caused the greater part of their church at Agra and the whole of their church at Lahore to be pulled down. Until 1846 Agra Vicariate Apostolic included the greater part of the Indo-Gangetic plain, but in that year the Vicariate of Patna was formed and divided with Agra the Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Northern India. The important educational institutions connected with this mission owe their foundation to the zeal of Monsignor Borghi and the munificence of Captain Filose, who contributed £10,000. The orphanages established for the orphans or fatherless children of British soldiers support about 300 children of both sexes. The funds for these establishments are furnished in part by subscription, but partly by a grant from Government of Rs. 10 per mensem for each orphan and Rs. 2-8 for each child who has lost one parent.

The history of the Church Mission has been told above (see page 498). The Baptists have had a mission here since 1811, when two missionaries arrived with special permission of Lord Minto's Government. But the work seems to have been suspended from 1821 to 1833. Before the mutiny this mission had established branches at Chittora in Irádatnagar parganah and at Partábpura. In the mutiny the Chittora mission was broken up. In 1873 a branch of the Bráhma Samáj existed in Agra; but if the recent census returns may be trusted, it exists no longer.

Medical.

The Thomason Hospital, established in 1854, has grown into a large and flourishing institution with several branches in outlying parts of the city. In connection with it is a medical school, founded in 1865, where a practical course of training is given extending over three years.

Manufactures and trade.

An exhaustive account of the manufactures and trade of the district has been given in the district notice (*supra* pp. 552-563). The following brief note, kindly supplied by Mr. R. E. Hamblin, C.S., refers to the city alone :—

Manufactures.

"The manufactures of Agra are carpets, gold and silver wire, silk goods, cloth printing, dressing and preparing stone for various purposes, marble inlaying, soapstone carving, pipe stems, vessels, toys and images of clay, vessels of *kankar*, lacquering wood work. The local carpet makers are not thriving, and principally produce only small cotton carpets (*dari*). The carpets made in the Agra central jail are well known, not only in India but also in Europe. The trade in gold and silver wire is in a flourishing state, and is known by the name of *kandla* making. The wire is beaten out flat and made into brocade (*badla*) and thread (*kalá-battán*), and from these lace-edging (*gotá*) and gimlets (*patká*) are made. Raw silk is spun into thread, and the latter used for the production of silk cloth (*sási*), of which a large quantity is exported. Cloth printers had once a very large business, and one quarter of the city is still named after them. Stone cutting (*sangtarásh*) is a prosperous industry. Rough blocks of stone from the quarry are fashioned into shape at Agra, and a finishing touch put on millstones (*chakki*), grinding stones (*silbatta*), and grinding vessels (*kundi*), which are largely exported. The inlaying of precious stones in marble or mosaic work, and carving in soapstone and marble, are industries for which Agra has long been famous. The repair of the Táj and similar buildings at Government expense provides constant employment for men skilled in these works. Pipe stems (*naicha*) are made in large quantities and much exported; decorated with gold wire, they convert the native *hukká* into a handsome ornament.

Trade.

"Agra is a considerable entrepôt of trade for salt, cotton, sugar, cloth goods, grain, stone, silk goods, gold and silver lace, tobacco and clarified butter. The trade in cotton has been growing for many years. The cotton is brought in from the surrounding country, including the adjoining native states, to be screwed here and exported by river and rail. Sugar is imported from the districts to the east and is exported to Rájputána and Central India. Cloth goods find their way here from Europe by way of Calcutta and Bombay, and are distributed for sale through petty dealers in the villages for many miles round. The trade in grain is a fluctuating one, depending greatly on the character of the harvests. Stone is largely imported into Agra from the quarries in the district and from those in Dholpur and Bhartpur; and some of it is re-exported after undergoing dressing, principally into the shape of vessels of various kinds and as stone prepared for building purposes.

"Agra serves not only as a centre of distribution for imported silk goods, but also for those made by local labour, and these are frequently embroidered with the gold and silver wire work for which the city is famous. Cotton-pressing is an important industry, for which there are three cotton presses worked by steam, besides several of the ordinary kind.

"The growth of trade may be marked by increase of municipal revenue raised by taxation, and the following figures are useful as furnishing proof of the extension of trade gauged in that manner. In 1813 the town duties on grain were Rs 16,251, and it is interesting to notice that in that year

Bareilly raised an income of Rs. 22,100 from that source, and Farukhabad one of Rs, 22,000. In the year 1872-73 grain duties furnished a revenue of Rs. 40,094 in Agra, which in 1881-82 had again increased to Rs 41,046.

Markets.

"A large cattle market takes place twice a week on Mondays and Fridays at Sultánpur in cantonments, and on the same days there is a large open air market at Williamsganj in the Sadr bázár, also in cantonments, where hides, shoes, and cloth goods are the principal articles exposed for sale The chief grain markets open daily are Phillipsganj, Municipalganj, Baldeoganj and Mandavi Ghalla, commonly called 'Najibai,' in Tájganj. There is a large daily market for fruit and vegetables in the Chhiptola road, and the daily requirements of the large population of Agra are easily supplied by the numerous shop-keepers of Agra city and cantonments."

The chief imports (paying octroi duty) into the municipality according to the official statement, together with the quantity or value imported in 1881-82, were as follows :—grain (16,96,504 maunds), refined sugar (64,476 maunds), unrefined sugar (1,68,223 maunds), *ghí* (35,012 maunds), other articles of food (Rs. 2,51,216), animals for slaughter (105,124 in number), oil and oilseeds (61,408 maunds), fuel (Rs. 1,66,774), building materials (Rs. 3,19,094), drugs and spices (25,470 maunds), tobacco (21,388 maunds), European cloth (Rs. 12,50,532), native cloth (Rs. 6,12,580), and metals (Rs. 2,63,256).

Municipality.

The municipality of Agra was constituted in October, 1863, under Act XXV. of 1850. Previous to this the Town Chaukidári Act was in force ; it provided an income of about Rs. 21,000 per annum, from which a force of watchmen (*chaukidár*) and a small conservancy establishment were maintained. Streets were left unlighted, and watering of roads was done by private subscription. The average yearly income and expenditure for the 10 years ending 1881-82 are Rs. 1,59,848 and Rs. 1,59,092 respectively.

The municipal committee consists (1882) of twenty-five members, whereof eight sit by virtue of their office and the remainder by election. The income of the municipality is derived chiefly from an octroi tax falling in 1881-82 at the rate of Re. 0-11-9 on net receipts per head of population. The total income in 1881-82 was Rs. 2,00,528 (including a balance of Rs. 4,437 from the previous year). The total expenditure in the same year was Rs. 1,91,483, the chief items of which were collection (Rs. 10,497), head-office (Rs. 7,342), supervision (Rs. 1,674), original works (Rs. 15,842), repairs and maintenance of roads (Rs. 17,111), police (Rs. 34,184), education (Rs. 1,200), lighting (Rs. 6,323), watering roads (Rs. 1,641), drainage works (Rs. 1,419), water-supply (Rs. 2,502), charitable grants (Rs. 6,463), and conservancy (Rs. 18,941).

Leading families.

In Agra, although it was once the centre of the Mughal empire, there are but few families of high rank or position. The pensioned descendants of Chait Sinh, the rája of Benares whom Hastings deposed, have their residence here; the present representative of the family is a minor, the great-grandson of Chait Sinh. Rája Sir Dankar Rao, K.C.S.I., the celebrated minister of Sindhia and Holkar, resides in Agra. For many years also Muhammad Hasan, known usually by the titles of nawáb and general, has lived here; he formerly held a high military post at the court of the King of Oudh at Lucknow.

Antiquities.

An account of Agra city would be incomplete without some notice of its ancient buildings and remains. This notice must of necessity be brief and imperfect, as compared with the subject, which would require for its proper treatment a separate volume or perhaps several volumes. Reference to some of the most important monuments of former rulers has been incidentally made in the sketch of the district history. The reader may also be reminded that a very full account of all the lesser known objects of antiquarian interest in and near Agra, with an attempt at a chronological arrangement, has been published in Volume IV. of the *Archæological Survey Reports*; and it is unnecessary, therefore, to reproduce much of the very ample materials supplied by Mr. Benson concerning them. The most convenient method will be to treat the principal objects here, not in their historical order, for that is in some cases open to question, but topographically in groups. A further objection to the chronological arrangement is the circumstance that frequently objects of different periods are found in close proximity to each other.

Ancient buildings and sites across the Jumna: Buland Bágh.

On the side of the Jumna opposite to the city are several interesting buildings and sites, some of which were mentioned in an earlier paragraph. Taking them in order, we have, first, the Buland Bágh, a garden once belonging to Buland Khán, a eunuch of Jahángír's. A great pile of masonry overhangs the river; this consists of seven wells or rather lifts for drawing water from the river, called Sát Kúiya. Below is a large tower crowned with a cupola supported on pillars, called the Battís Khamba; there are 24 pillars below and 8 above supporting the cupola. There is another cupola at the south-west corner.

Rám Bágh.

The Rám Bágh, as it is commonly called, is said to be more properly Árám Bágh, 'the garden of rest,' but this name was by some accounts given to it by the Játs. The older name, and the one used in official documents up to the time of British occupa-

tion, was Bágh-i-Núr-Afshán, from the name of a Muhammadan lady, identified by some with Núr Jahán, the queen of Jahángír, and the daughter of his minister, I'timád-ud-daula, whose tomb stands a short distance lower down on the same side of the Jumna. The Rám Bágh is a large walled garden with a raised stone terrace on the west or river side. There are five octagonal towers or bastions surmounted by pillared cupolas at each corner of the river face; underneath, or in the body of the terrace, are a set of vaulted chambers, opening on to a lower terrace, just on the water's edge; while above, or on the terrace, are two buildings, originally open *báradarís*, with chambers at each end and verandahs overlooking the river, but now converted into bungalows and occupied by casual visitors. By popular tradition the Rám Bágh was the resting-place of Bábar's body, from the time of his death at Agra till it was conveyed to Kábul for burial; but it is generally believed that the garden, as it is, was made by the empress Núr Jahán, who frequently, it is said, resorted here with her handmaids.

Záhra Bágh.

The Záhra (Zahura or Zera) Bágh or Mahal, also called Sayyid-ká-Bágh from the tomb of a Muhammadan saint that stands in it, lies between the Rám Bágh and the Chíni-ká-Rauza. It has a river frontage of 1,234 feet, including two towers that marked the boundary at each end of the river frontage; it extends backward from the river for 1,095 feet to the site of the ancient gateway, the foundation of which can still be traced. On the other side of the river, but at some distance from it, between Sultánpur and Khawáspur, is a still larger garden bearing the same or a closely similar name, Zehra or Dehra Bágh. Regarding both these gardens the same tradition (among others) is preserved, namely, that each was made by the emperor Bábar, and named after one of his daughters, called Zahura. At the centre of the river face of the garden we are now describing are the remains of a river-side palace (*mahal*), and from what is left of it Mr. Carlleyle concludes that it is of the transition period of architecture between the later Pathán and early Mughal, corresponding, therefore, with the age given to it by the tradition. [See *Arch. Rep.*, IV., 105-8.]

Chíni-ká-Rauza.

The ruin known as the Chíni-ká-Rauza adjoins Záhra Bágh on the south; and having, as a tomb, to be built directly east and west, its river front does not run parallel with the river's edge, nor with the wall of Záhra Bágh. The northern wall of its enclosure ran obliquely into, and was cut off by the southern wall of the Záhra garden, showing clearly that the latter is the more ancient erection. The enclosure is, roughly speaking, 100 yards north to south (the river front) and

150 yards east to west. At each end of the river front is an octagonal tower surmounted by a pillared cupola, and the enclosure is built, for the most part, on arches of massive masonry. The mausoleum is at the centre of the west or river front, and is a rectangular building nearly eighty feet square, surmounted by one great central dome resting on an octagonal base, with four slender shafts crowned with flower-shaped capitals at each corner. The whole of the south-western corner of the building has fallen down; but when complete, there was, in the centre of each side, a lofty archway opening into an oblong ante-chamber. These four ante-chambers or side halls all opened on the principal central chamber, an octagon with a domed roof, containing two brick tombs. Four square chambers occupy the corners of the building. The construction of the building will, however, be best understood by reference to the ground plan given in the *Arch. Report* (IV., plate XVI.) Underneath the main building is a large crypt supported on arches, and now open on the river side This mausoleum was faced outwardly with what is commonly called 'china' (hence the popular name of the building), but in reality with a thin coating of enamel, all of one piece, in a variety of colours and in beautiful patterns, as the still-existing remains of it amply testify. The tomb bears no inscription, but is traditionally ascribed to Afzal Khán, a poet, who died at Láhor in 1639 A.D. [See Beale's *Biographical Dicty.*, *s. v.*]

I'timád-ud-daula's tomb.

For half a mile below the Chini-ká-Rauza there are no buildings of note, although there are the traces of old gardens and some mausoleums in the fields We then come to the tomb of I'timád-ud-daula. This mausoleum stands in the centre of a large garden inclosure, about 180 yards square, surrounded by a substantial wall, except on the river side, where there is a raised terrace overlooking the stream. At each of the four corners of the inclosure is a tower, and there is a fine gateway in the centre of the east side. There are ornamental buildings of red sandstone at the centre of the north and south sides, and a third, at the centre of the terrace, has been adopted for use as an occasional residence for visitors. The tomb in the centre stands on a platform, also of red sandstone, about 150 feet square, and raised about 3 feet from the ground. The tomb itself is a rectangular building, 69 feet 2 inches square, encased on the outside with white marble inlaid with mosaic work. At each corner stands an octagonal tower of white marble, which, at the level of the roof of the mausoleum (19 feet from the lower platform) is surrounded by a balcony supported on brackets, and then changes its form to circular, and finally terminates in another balcony supported on graceful brackets and surmounted by a handsome domed

cupola supported on eight graceful pillars. At the centre of the roof of the mausoleum stands a marble-pavilion, 25 feet 8 inches square, on a slightly raised platform, having a canopy-shaped roof with white projecting eaves, supported on 12 pillars with marble screens between them. In this are two marble cenotaphs, counterparts of those in the central chamber of the mausoleum below. This central chamber is 22 feet 7½ inches square, and there are eight inferior chambers, four oblong, one on each side, and four square, one at each corner. There is an arched entrance on each of the four sides, but the central chamber is only open on the south side, the other entrances being closed by marble screens. Besides the two principal tombs there are also five others in the corner chambers.

The central chamber has its walls lined with marble inlaid with mosaic, and its roof is a sort of flat dome, lined with fine stucco work embellished with devices in colours and gilding. The side chambers have plainer mosaic work up to about 4 feet from the floor, and above that is plaster ornamented with paintings of flowers, the ceilings being profusely gilded. The mosaic work had been to a great extent destroyed by the removal of the precious stones before the tomb was placed under the special charge of the Archæological Department of the North-Western Provinces Government in 1876. The painting and gilding were also much defaced and tarnished. Mr. Fergusson has noticed this tomb (*Hist. Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 588), but with some disapprobation. He writes :—"As one of the first, the tomb of I'timád-ud-daula was certainly one of the least successful of its class. The patterns do not quite fit the places where they are put, and the spaces are not always those best suited to this style of decoration."

In Beale's *Biographical Dicty.* we are told that "the place where he [I'timád-ud-daula] is buried was a garden built by I'timád-ud-daula during his lifetime." Mr. Keene [*Handbook*, p. 29] thinks that the tomb was built by Núr Jahán, the daughter of I'timád-ud-daula, after his death (which according to the *Túzak* happened in 1621 A.D.), and gives 1628 A.D. as the date of its completion. The best account, perhaps, of I'timád-ud-daula will be found in the late Mr. Blochmann's *Áín-i-Akbari* (translation, p. 510). His original name was, Mirza Ghias-ud-dín Muhammad; he was a native of Teheran (*Tahrín*), and first obtained service at the court of Akbar; he received the title by which he is best known in history, I'timád-ud-daula, from Jahángír, who afterwards married his daughter Núr Jahán; in consequence of the marriage Ghiás was made prime minister and a commander of 6,000. According to the *Túzak-i-Jahángíri*, he died broken-hearted for the loss of his wife, whose tomb is placed alongside his own. [Mr. Carlleyle mentions no dated

inscription, but in Mr. Benson's notes a reference to one, giving the date 1027H., is made, but without mentioning where the inscription is to be found. The date given would correspond with 1617-18 A.D., and can hardly be, as he suggests, the date of the completion of the building.]

Moti Bágh and Masjid.

Opposite to the gateway of the tomb just described are the remains of the Motí Bágh and mosque, attributed to Sháh Jahán [see *Arch. Rep.*, IV., 157]. What remains of the mosque has, for many years, been converted into a dwelling-house for Europeans.

Nawalganj.

Beyond the Motí Bágh is a great walled enclosure, known as Nawalganj, but probably this is a corruption of Nawábganj, as it is said to have been built by Nawáb Sálát Khán in the time of Sháh Jahán. At each of the four corners is an octagonal tower, and there are high buildings at the centre of the north and south side. The parts of the building that are standing are used as dwelling-places by natives.

Húmáyún's mosque.

Húmáyún's mosque in the village of Kachpura, about half a mile south-east of the East Indian Railway (goods) station, claims passing notice. An inscription gives the date of completion as 937H. (1530 A.D.)

Chahár Bágh.

To the east of Kachpura village is the site of Bábar's Chahár Bágh and probably of his garden palace.

Mahtáb Bágh.

On the river bank facing the Táj is what remains of the Mahtáb (or, as it is sometimes corruptly called, *Mihtáb*) Bágh. Portions of two ornamental towers built of red sandstone, one of them nearly perfect, stand about 320 yards apart at the corners of the garden along the river front. This garden is supposed to have been the site on which Sháh Jahán intended to build a mausoleum for himself to correspond with the Táj opposite.

Achának Bágh.

About a mile east of Kachpura is the Achának Bágh. Little remains of it except a ruined entrance gate, part of a domed building in the middle of the garden, two ruined towers at the corners along the river front, and a series of vaulted chambers opening on a landing stage, that appear to have been the lower story of a large palace. The name Achának is said to be derived from a princess so styled, and is attributed to the time of Bábar [*Arch. Rep.*, IV., p. 108].

Ancient buildings on the city side of the Jumna: the Fort.

We now cross the river and come to the buildings in and near the modern city of Agra. The Fort and the buildings connected with it may be conveniently described first. The Fort lies on the right bank of the river about a mile (in a straight

line) above the Táj. In shape it is a rude triangle, having a base half a mile in length along the river bank on the east. The two sides, north-western and south-western, are one rather under and the other just half-a-mile in length. The apex of this irregular triangle is at the Dehli gate on the west. These sides, however, are broken by a series of angles; and the total circuit of the Fort walls is not less than a mile and a half.

The walls are about seventy feet in height and are surrounded on all sides by a deep masonry-lined ditch or fosse. On the east or river side the high original rampart is supplemented by a lower outlying wall, outside which runs the fosse, separated from the river only by the Strand road, which was constructed during the famine of 1837-38. The sides are broken by a series of angles and projecting bastions. The bastions at the northern and southern extremities of the river front are named the Sháh Burj and Bangáli Burj respectively. The main gateway, crossing the ditch by a drawbridge, is the Dehli gate on the north, towards the city. Another, slightly inferior, called the Amr Sinh gate, gives access at the southern angle. There is also a water gate about the centre of the river front.

It is commonly stated that Akbar founded the Fort in 1567 (*supra* p. 594); but in the opinion of some persons the actual founder was Salím Sháh, son of Sher Sháh, who held power during the interregnum of Húmáyún (A.D. 1545-53). Certain it is that there was an older fort on the site of the present one, which bore the name Badalgarh. "It suffered much during the earthquake of 911H., and was nearly destroyed during an explosion that happened in 962H." [Blochmann's *Á'ín*, p. 380*n*.] If (as Mr. Keene supposes) this older fort was entirely demolished by Akbar before building the present one, he may be rightly called the founder of the one that now exists. The building was superintended by Kásim Khán, one of Akbar's commanders, and the work took eight years to complete, costing 35 lákhs of rupees [Blochmann's *Á'ín*, p. 380].

There is apparently no building at present in the Fort precincts that can be attributed to an earlier ruler than Akbar, although Mr. Fergusson, in the last edition (1876) of his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, repeats the statement he had made in earlier editions, that there stood inside the Fort, on the highest spot, "a fragment of a palace built by Sher Sháh or by his son Salim, which was as exquisite a piece of decorative art as anything of its class in India." The palace itself had been (he writes) pulled down and replaced by a barrack, the fragment only remaining. Mr. Keene, writing in 1878, remarks that the fragment alluded to is "considered by the natives as having formed the *naubat-khána* or drum-stand of Akbar's palace," and that it is "entirely in the

style of that monarch's time." Mr. Benson describes the fragment as "a *bára-dari*, or open pavilion, with three deep arched openings on each side and staircases leading to the roof in the corner." The arches (he writes) are rather pointed in shape; above them is a wide drip-stone supported on numerous brackets. He suggests that, perhaps, this may be the *báradari* of Bírbal, Akbar's favourite Hindu courtier, which, according to some native authorities, exists in the Fort.

The fosse or deep ditch round the Fort was made by Aurangzeb, and it is believed that the Amr Sinh gate is of later date than the rest of the outer buildings.

Entrance at the Dehli gate.

Crossing the draw-bridge at the Dehli gate a massive gateway is passed, leading by a paved ascent, with two turnings, to the inner entrance, which is flanked by two octagonal towers of red sand-stone inlaid with ornamental designs in white marble and surmounted by two domes. From the summit of this fine gateway a good view is obtained of the city and cantonment. A defaced inscription exists on the east end wall of a guard-house on the right hand (on entering) under the gateway, of the date A.H. 1008, or A.D. 1600, so that it is just possible the Dehli gate may have been added by Akbar after he came to reside in the Fort, leaving Fatehpur-Sikri. The inscription, however, has not yet been thoroughly deciphered. Underneath it is another inscription in adulation of Jahángír on his accession, dated 1015 H., he having ascended the throne in 1014 (see *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 113)[1].

Within the Fort the north-east angle will be found occupied by the magazine buildings, enclosed within a wall and not open to the general public: while the palace buildings are on the south-east. The west angle or apex of the triangle is occupied by the barracks, placed on the highest position within the Fort.

Motí Masjid.

The Motí Masjid, or 'Pearl mosque,' occupies higher ground than the rest of the imperial buildings. Built on ground sloping rapidly from west to east, the floor of the mosque, on a level with the ground on the west, is raised far above it on the east; and thus we have the eastern gateway approached laterally from the north and south by two long flights of steps. The buildings of the court of the mosque, too, on the

[1] The inscription, as given in the *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, consists of four couplets, and the name of the writer is added at the side. The translation given by Mr. Carlleyle is very incorrect, nor is that of the two first couplets given by Mr. Keene (*Turks in India*, p 106) much better. Mr. Keene, however, does not make the error of supposing the inscription to refer to Sháh Jahán, instead of to Jahángír, as from the last line, *Bád jahán-bádsháh sháh-i-Jahángír-i-má*, "may our king Jahángír rule the world," it clearly does.

north-east and south, are supported on a series of vaulted chambers; while above them a gallery runs round the otherwise blank exterior wall, giving access to a series of small cells, which are underneath the floors of the cloisters within. The mass of the building is thus considerable, and the exterior, faced as it is with plain red sand-stone, and unbroken except by the chambers and gallery above noted, is somewhat gloomy in appearance. The exterior dimensions are 285 feet east and west by 190 north and south. The beauty of the interior, all of white marble, compensates, however, for the dull exterior. Entering the gateway you find yourself in a court 155 feet square. To the west is the mosque, with a front of 142 feet in length and a depth of 56 feet, supported on a triple row of massive pillars arranged longitudinally, from which spring engrailed or Saracenic arches. The whole is surmounted by three domes, whereof the central is the largest. Interiorly these domes are very shallow. The back or western wall of the mosque is divided into beautiful panels containing sculptured devices. On the northern and southern sides are side chambers (possibly for French worshippers), opening on the main mosque by two screens of marble lattice work and an open doorway. These chambers also communicate by doorways with the cloisters, which surround the court on all sides, about eleven feet in depth and supported on a series of pillars, more slender in character than those of the mosque itself. The line of these cloisters is broken at the centre of the north and south sides of the court by archways corresponding in appearance to the gateway on the east, from which flights of stairs (interiorly) lead down to the vaulted basement story below. In the centre of the court is a square tank, and a sundial pillar stands towards the south-east corner. At each of the four corners of the building is an octagonal tower; and there are also two side towers on the centre wall, one at each end of the front of the mosque proper, rising above the cloisters. These are surmounted by marble cupolas; while the summits of the archways on north and south and the eastern gateway, are also each adorned with three marble cupolas on pillars. "The hall of worship is floored with black and white marble, marking out prayer-places for 899 worshippers. The pulpit is said to be cut out of one solid block of marble" [Keene, *Turks in India*, p. 140]. The general absence of ornament has been remarked upon as the characteristic feature of this mosque. It was built, as we learn from an inscription, between 1648 and 1655, and is said to have cost three lákhs of rupees. [See further in *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 145-156.]

Mína Bázár, Delhi gate, and Sháh Jahán's palaces.

Leaving the gateway of the Motí Masjid by the southern flight of steps, the road leading to the water gate—a steep paved ramp passing by some of the older buildings and by gloomy

passages under the fortification—will be seen on the left, opposite the south-east angle of the mosque; while just beyond, on the right, you turn into what was a sort of entrance court to the palace building. Westward it communicates by the Mína Bázár with the Dehli gate, the west entrance to the Mína Bázár being slightly to the south of that gateway. The Mína Bázár is said to be of Akbar's time, but this is uncertain. It formed the principal approach on this side to the palace, a southern gateway of the entrance court (above noted) into which it leads, opening directly on the great court of Sháh Jahán's palace. Of this palace Mr. Fergusson (*Hist. of Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 590) writes as follows :—

"Nowhere is the contrast between the two styles [those of Akbar and Sháh Jahán] more strongly marked than here. From the red stone palace of Akbar, with its rich sculptures and square Hindu construction, a door opens into the white marble court of the harím [women's apartments] of Sháh Jahán, with all its pretty feebleness, but at the same time marked with that peculiar elegance which is found only in the East. The court is not large, 170 feet by 235 feet, but the whole is finished with the most elaborate care. Three sides of this are occupied with the residences of the ladies, not remarkable for size, nor, in their present state, for architectural beauty, but the fourth, overhanging the river, is occupied by three white marble pavilions of singular elegance. * * *

"As in most Moorish palaces, the baths on one side of this court were the most elegant and elaborately decorated apartments in the palace. The baths have been destroyed, but the walls and roofs still show the elegance with which they were adorned.

"Behind this, in the centre of the palace, is a great court, 500 feet by 370 feet, surrounded by arcades, and approached at the opposite ends through a succession of beautiful courts opening into one another by gateways of great magnificence. On one side of this court is the great hall of the palace, the Díwán-i-'Ám, 208 feet by 70 feet, supported by three ranges of arcades of exquisite beauty. It is open on three sides and with a niche for the throne at the back. * * * Behind it are two smaller courts, the one containing the Díwán-i-Khás, or private hall of audience, the other the harím. The hall in the former is one of the most elegant of Sháh Jahán's buildings, being wholly of white marble inlaid with precious stones, and the design of the whole being in the best style of his reign.

"One of the most picturesque features about this palace is a marble pavilion, in two stories, that surmounts one of the circular bastions on the river face, between the harím and the Díwán-i-Khás. It looks of an earlier style than that of Sháh Jahan, and if Jahángír built anything here, it is this."

The succession of courts (writes Mr. Benson) certainly does exist in connection with the northern entrance already described; but the southern entrance is merely a fine gateway, made up of two archways, with a small court between opening directly on the steep paved slope or ramp leading to the Amr Sinh gate.

Chihal Sutún Mahal.

What Mr. Fergusson calls Díwán-i-'Ám is a building, on the east side of the court, sometimes also called the 'Ám-Khás, and up to 1870 used as an armoury. It is an open building of red sandstone, with a flat roof supported on engrailed arches springing

from three (or, including the fourth or eastern side, four) rows of square pillars. The more correct name of this building appears to be the mahal Chihal Satún, or 'hall of forty pillars.' It appears to have been built subsequently to the court in which it stands, and to the building which it adjoins on the east. It was doubtless intended for the shelter of suitors and the royal attendants when the monarch was seated in the hall of public audience, of which it is a continuation. The eastern or back wall of the hall is the rear wall of the courtyard now called Machi Bhawan. The lower story of the latter shows a blank wall towards the hall; but in the upper story is placed a pair of lattice windows, on each side of the royal gallery. Through these, persons seated in the upper chambers of the Machi Bhawan could look down into the hall. There are also other small lattices higher up, intended to light the remaining upper chambers. In the centre of the wall just mentioned is the open gallery with three arches in the front, described above by Mr. Fergusson as a niche for the throne at the back. As far as can be judged from present appearances, this gallery did not communicate in front with the hall below, where the emperor is supposed to have sat to administer justice, but a staircase ascends to it through the room with latticed window on the right or north of the throne. The eastern wall of the great hall is of brick covered with plaster. The royal gallery itself is thus described by Bayard Taylor:—"It is a pavilion of white marble, inlaid with jasper and cornelian in the form of flowers, ornamented scrolls, and sentences of the *Kurán*. Below it is an immense slab of white marble, on which he (the emperor) was accustomed to seat himself." Besides the magnificent gateways to the north and south of the great court, there is also a lesser gateway on the east side, close to the south-east corner, leading into a small courtyard of red sandstone, which, in its turn, conducts to the court known commonly as the Machi Bhawan. To correspond to this gateway there is an archway near the south-east angle of the great court.

Nagína Masjid.

In the south-west corner of this small courtyard, and on the upper story—not communicating with the court below, but with the upper gallery of the Machi Bhawan—is the Nagína Masjid, a beautiful little mosque, although somewhat heavy in appearance, of white marble, standing in the centre of the west side of a small court walled in with marble slabs; it consists of three aisles, supported on three (including the western wall) rows of short, massive, square, plain pillars, from which spring engrailed arches supporting the roof, which is crowned with three domes. This must have been the private mosque of the palace and was probably attended by the ladies of the court, as there is a screened passage passing from it by

a staircase to the roof of the Diwán-i-'Ám, and so to the women's apartments; the mosque itself, too, is quite shut in from outer view. The Tasbíh Khána, however, of the mosque is an open gallery of white marble, overlooking the small courtyard. On the east of this courtyard is a staircase (closed) conducting to some old apartments of the palace of which little is known; while the gateway leading to the Machi Bhawan is at the south-east angle.

Machi Bhawan.

The Machi Bhawan courtyard has a tank in its centre, and a series of chambers surrounding it on the north, south, and west sides; a roofed gallery or colonnade runs round the upper story, on a level with the Diwán-i-'Ám, Diwán-i-Khás, and the Nagína-mosque, and communicates with them. This courtyard is of red sandstone, and its dimensions are about 150 feet east to west by 200 north to south. From its position it may have formed the ante-chamber or waiting-room for nobles who had the right of entrance to the hall of private audience; for its east side is formed by the raised terrace or platform in front of that building. A flight of steps from the Machi Bhawan leads to this platform, which is on the same level as the upper gallery of that court. To the south are the royal baths (the emperor's, not those of the harem); to the east the platform overlooks the river, a low railing or screen of marble alone guarding the edge, which is that of the inner or main wall of the Fort.

Black marble throne.

In the centre of this east side, on a slightly raised platform of white marble, is placed the black marble throne of Jahángír, a large slab of marble, in length 10 feet 7½ inches, in breadth 9 feet 10 inches, and in thickness 6 inches, supported on octagonal pedestals, 1 foot 4 inches high. Round the edge of the stone runs an inscription in embossed characters, a transcription and translation of which will be found in *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., pp. 132-5. The date given by it is 1011 H. or A.D. 1602, three years before Akbar's death, and it consists only of praises of "Sultán Salím, son of Akbar," better known in history as Jahángír, by which name also he is mentioned in the inscription. Two other short inscriptions are engraved in the stone (in contradistinction to the first, which is in raised letters). Mr. Keene (*Handbook*, p. 10) regards these as of later date and thinks they were added after Jahángír's accession, the first or raised inscription having been antecedent to that event. The opening words of the raised inscription, however, describe Salím as assuming the name Jahángír and as sitting on the throne and administering laws to the world.

A crack or split across the stone, and some reddish marks on it, have given rise to fables of its splitting on one occasion, and giving blood on another,

when the foot of an usurper (Jawáhir Sinh, rája of Bhartpur) was set on it. Opposite to the black marble throne, on a similar pedestal, at the edge of the platform overlooking the Machi Bhawan, is a similar throne of white marble.

Díwán-i-Khás.

On the south side of the platform stands the Díwán-i-Khás, or private hall of audience. It consists of a hall, 64 feet 9 inches in length by 34 feet in breadth and 22 in height, opening by three arches on a portico in front, and with three arched recesses to correspond on the opposite side. At the ends are two arched recesses. A small doorway at the south-east corner gives private access to the royal apartments. Above the three arches on the north and south, are three small lights or lattice windows filled with screen work. The portico in front is about the same size, and is a lofty colonnade with flat roof, supported on engrailed arches springing from slender pillars arranged in pairs. At the corners there are four, at the sides three, and in the front five openings between the pillars. Three short flights of steps lead from the level of the portico to the platform in front. An inscription runs along the frieze of the colonnade—*Saádat Sará wa Humáyún asás*—*the chronogram taken from which gives the date of the building as 1046* H. (1637 A.D.)

At the corner of the southern upper gallery of the Machi Bhawán, abutting on the Díwán-i-Khás, will be found a doorway to the south, from which a passage to the right leads up to a tiny mosque squeezed in amongst the buildings. This mosque is very plainly built of white marble, but the court in front is beautifully paved with alternate squares of marble and jasper. The passage to the left leads past a Tasbíh Khána facing the back wall of the Díwán-i-Khás, and then downstairs to a small court on the east of the Díwán-i-Khás, communicating on the south with the main harem court, of which it is an offshoot. The main wall of the Fort here takes a turn outwards, so as to project beyond the eastern parapet of the platform in front of the Díwán-i-Khás. This projection affords space for the small court just described.

Saman Burj.

On the bastion at the east side of the court last mentioned stands an octagonal marble and inlaid pavilion of great beauty overlooking the river, with an upper open story of red sandstone surmounted by a cupola, commonly known as the Saman Burj. The pavement of the court is arranged in squares of coloured marble for the game of *pachísi*. The ladies' baths and other offices of the palace open on it on the north. A marble screen runs round it on the riverside and another divides it from the main harem court. In both of these screens may be seen holes made by the cannon-ball which Lord Lake is said to have fired at the Fort.

The harem court of Sháh Jahán's palace has been briefly described in the extract from Mr. Fergusson's work (*supra*, p. 692). The three white marble pavilions overhanging the river are situated on a raised platform of white marble on the east of the court, with a tank for fountains in front of the centre or principal building. This is often called the Khás Mahal, and by some the Arámgáh. It is a very beautiful building, consisting of a noble hall about 70 feet by 40, with a colonnade or portico of the same size in front, standing on a raised platform (above the platform already mentioned). The colonnade has five openings to the front and three on each side; its flat roof is supported on engrailed arches springing from massive square pillars to the front. On the sides there are only half pillars. The hall opens on the colonnade by three arches, and on the opposite or west side are three archways with windows overlooking the river. North and south at the ends are arched recesses, in which are doorways leading to the side pavilions. The side walls arch up into a flat oblong ceiling, all of which, as well as the south portion of the walls, has been covered with beautiful paintings. This was no doubt the State hall or drawing-room of the ladies of the palace. The smaller pavilion on the north communicates with the Saman Burj; while that on the south is connected with a series of apartments in the south-eastern corner of the court, in style somewhat different from, and superior to, the other apartments surrounding the court, and separated from the rest of the court by a *kanát*, or screen-wall, made of slabs of white marble placed along the edge of the platform. This may have been the emperor's own most private chambers, or the principal Sultána's. Some say the apartments are those of Jahán Árá Begam, Sháh Jahán's favourite daughter; also known as Sultána Begam. A similar screen incloses the north-eastern pavilion. The northern side of its courtyard is formed by the portico, with screens in two of three openings, leading to the Saman Burj court and some marble chambers.

Sháh Jahán's harem court; Khás Mahal.

The ladies' baths, alluded to as the Shísh Mahal, are in the lower story at the north-east corner of the court. The sides and ceilings are spangled over with tiny mirrors of irregular shape set in plaster. Many of these have come away, but enough is left to show the picturesque effect, when the interior is lighted up, as is usually done for visitors. The baths have suffered from the vandalism of European rulers.

Shísh Mahal.

The east or river-side of the harem court being composed of the marble pavilions, with the terrace in front of them already described, the other three are made up of the women's apartments, built round the court in two stories, a gallery running round on the

Women's apartments.

level of the upper story. These buildings are of red sandstone, and may perhaps be of Akbar's time. But there are some chambers floored and half-panelled with white marble, on the north of the west side: these are possibly baths.

Angúri Bágh.

The centre of the court is occupied by a garden known as the Angúri Bágh. There is a small marble tank below the terrace of the Khás Mahal on the east, and the usual division by four paved walks running from a platform in the centre. This platform and the walks are of white marble. The beds are divided into numerous small compartments by ridges of red sandstone curiously arranged. The earth of the garden is said to have been brought from Káshmír, and to this day its depth and quality are extolled by the gardeners. The only main entrance to the court is through a low, narrow gateway or passage under the upper story at the south-west corner. There are also passages on the south side communicating with the adjoining palace known as Jahángír's.

Underground passages and chambers.

Low doors underneath the platform of the Khás Mahal lead to staircases communicating with an extensive series of underground passages and chambers, running along the inside of the fortification wall and lighted by slits therein. These are said to have been used as dungeons for prisoners, and the site of a wall is pointed out, where the unfaithful ladies of the harem were committed to the grave. Curious underground passages exist where the ladies of the harem, it is said, played hide-and-seek before the emperor. This series of passages is popularly believed to communicate with the Táj and also with an old house now in ruins in cantonments, but no confirmation of the tradition has yet been obtained. At the end of the main passage there is a deep well, said to have been used to put the unfaithful ones in when sentenced to death. Two soldiers, it is said, some years ago fell down this well, and were either killed by the fall or died of starvation.

Jahángír's palace.

Adjoining Sháh Jahán's palace on the south is the Jahángíri Mahal, or palace of Jahángír. The exact age of this building is somewhat doubtful. It is very Hindu in character, much resembling the Jahángíri mahal at Fatehpur-Síkri, and may very probably have been built by Akbar towards the close of his reign and appropriated as the separate residence in the Fort of the heir-apparent and his family. Mr. Fergusson treats it as Akbar's :—

"This palace at Agra is merely one pavilion, or rather *corps de logis*, and cannot, therefore, be compared in size with the great palace of Fatehpur-Síkri; but it is singularly elegant in detail, and having escaped the fate of so many of the palaces of India, time has only softened without

destroying the beauty of its features. Internally it encloses a court 71 feet 2 inches square, one side of which is occupied by a hall 62 feet 8 inches by 35 feet 2 inches, of almost purely Hindu design, and almost as elaborate and elegant in detail. In the opposite side of the court is a small hall. The two remaining sides are occupied by two entrances with porches and halls. Beyond this, *an open court overlooks the river and the country* on the other side of the Jumna. Like all his buildings, it is of red sandstone, ornamented in relief and generally without arches, thus forming a singular contrast to the marble walls of Shâh Jahân which adjoin it. This *corps de logis* occupies an extreme space of about 260 feet east to west and 249 feet north to south. The entrance is a fine arched gateway in the centre of the west front, which is a façade 226 feet in length, blank in the lower story, but with panels and false windows lined out in white marble, and broken on the upper story by a series of windows, beneath which runs a balcony, and the frieze above which is decorated by a row of blue and light green enamelled tiles let into the sandstone. At each end an octagonal tower in three stories surmounted by a cupola terminates the façade."

The gateway leads by a vestibule to a domed entrance hall, whence a corridor, first to the right and then straight forwards, leads to the principal hall, the court described by Mr. Fergusson. The principal hall on the north is remarkable for its flat ceiling, supported by stone struts with dragons or serpents, one carved on each, longitudinally. There is a gallery running round the top of the hall. The lesser hall on the south is about 52 feet by 29 feet, and round it runs a passage divided from it by a wall, in which are latticed screens looking on to the hall. On the west of the court, over the entrance hall in the third story, is an open hall with three openings on each side, east and west, overlooking the court, with very fine pillars and brackets. To the right (south) of the entrance hall, is a passage leading to a small separate court, perhaps the principal queen's private lodging, with a pillared hall containing a musicians' gallery. From this court a narrow courtyard, with sets of chambers apparently intended for the servants, runs along the back of the south wall of the main courtyard. All round this main courtyard there runs a gallery on the upper story. To the east are a set of chambers communicating with the long narrow courtyard overlooking the river. The central entrance to it is by a porch supported on pillars, about 17½ feet in length, including base and capital, of remarkably beautiful and singular design. Two wings of the building north and south project eastwards. Above, on the roof of these wings, were two beautiful open pavilions, with canopy roofs supported on pillars; the southern one has been bricked up, but the northern one is intact. There are twenty pillars in all, six on the east and west, and four on the north and south sides. They are massive, but not lofty, and have bracket capitals that meet together and thus form a support without any arch. Close to this is a set of tanks, to which water was raised by a series of lifts from the moat or river below, and there are still traces of the water-courses.

From these the various baths, tanks, and fountains of the palace were supplied, as may be seen from the names inscribed on the wall over the head of each supply pipe. The courtyard is bounded by a wall on the east, in which were occasional latticed windows or doors, and at each corner an ornamental tower surmounted by a domed cupola.

The whole of this palace is remarkable for the Hindu character of the architecture, for the roofs, brackets, projecting eaves, carved panels, recesses, and pillars; the entablature of the main court is especially noticeable. The whole is in red sandstone and that of a perishable description, so the finer work is wearing away. Most of the apartments are panelled with sandstone engraved with devices and patterns; but in some cases stucco or plaster, covered with paintings or moulded into patterns, has been employed.

Jahángír's bath.

There remain no more buildings worthy of notice within the Fort, but it may be as well to mention here the great stone-vessel, known as Jahángír's bath, which lies close to the tank in the cantonment gardens. It is a large bowl-shaped bath, hewn out of a single stone of light coloured porphyry or granite, in height about 4 feet 8 inches exterior, 4 feet deep inside, 8 feet in diameter at top, and 6 feet 8½ inches at bottom, the edge about 6 inches thick. There are steps on the inside and outside. Ornamental compartments containing inscriptions run round the bowl on the exterior near the upper edge. The inscription is defaced, but mentions "Jahángír, son of Akbar" (see *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 136). The bath was originally in Jahángír's palace, then in the great court of Sháh Jahán's palace, whence it was removed to its present situation, but for what reason or by whom is not known.

Somnáth gates.

Though the so-called Somnáth gates are in no sense an antiquity of Agra, it is as well to notice that they will now be found in the harem court. They formerly stood in the great hall, when it was walled up and used as an armoury. They were brought from Ghazni in 1842, and conveyed in the train of the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, from Firozpur to Agra, but never proceeded further on their way to their proclaimed destination, Somnáth. It seems pretty certain that they are not the gates of the temple of Somnáth at all, but may be those of the tomb of Sultán Mahmúd at Ghazni.

Tripolia.

Outside the Dehli gate is an enclosure intended for, and used as a market, called the Tripolia (Tirpaulia). It forms a sort of entrance court to the Dehli gate, and is said to have

been added by Sháh Jahán for the accommodation of traders It was octagonal in shape, with shops on all sides, except on that of the Fort-ditch. There are three arched gateways to the south, south-west, and north-east. The north side or sides have been entirely destroyed and pulled down to make room for the course of the Rájputána State Railway. Within the memory of the present generation, a *báradari* or *nakár khána*, which stood in front of the Delhi gate in the Tripolia, was pulled down, and its materials sold by auction. The roof is said to have been of white marble.

Jámi' Masjid.

Beyond the Tripolia to the north-west close adjoining is the great mosque, or Jámi' Masjid. This is a mosque of Sháh Jahán's reign, and from the inscription appears to have been built between the years 1644 and 1649 A.D. (1053 and 1058 H.). The mosque is said to have been originally called Masjid Begam, from the fact that Jahán Ára Begam, Sháh Jahán's daughter, made herself responsible for its construction, which was completed at a cost of five lákhs of rupees (£50,000). The name was subsequently changed to Jámi' Masjid, it being the great or principal mosque of the city. The mosque is built of red sandstone, and consists of a large court placed on a platform raised about 11 feet above the ground (on the east or Tripolia side). The mosque proper is to the west of the court; it is a large building, 130 feet long by 100 broad, supported by two rows of arches, and with five openings or archways to the front, one principal and two interior on each side. Four octagonal domed cupolas stand one at each corner of the roof, a row of smaller square cupolas adorns the front, and four slender shafts or minarets rise from the four corners of the roof of the central compartment, which is more elevated than the rest. The roof is surmounted towards the rear by three large domes of somewhat peculiar shape, full bottomed, which have been compared to balloons reversed, and of remarkable pattern, the courses of masonry being zig-zag and alternately of red sandstone in wide bands and narrow lines of white marble. The description of the mosque of Agra given by Mr. Fergusson (*Historical Architecture*, Vol. II., page 688) can hardly apply to this mosque; for it was not built by Akbar, nor can it be said to be low or to stand low. Cloisters with flat roofs supported on pillars meeting in engrailed arches run along the northern and southern sides of the courtyard, but are broken at the centre of each side by archways, through which flights of steps give access to the mosque. The eastern side was similarly closed with a cloister, and the eastern gateway was the principal and most imposing; but this gateway and the eastern cloister were destroyed at the Mutiny, so that the mosque should lie

open to the Fort and afford no protection to enemies. On the northern, eastern, and southern sides, there are rows of shops on the outside underneath the cloister, and this is a very busy trade quarter.

Rúmí Khán's haveli.

Half a mile below the Fort, on the right hand of the present Strand Road leading to the Táj, is a ruin generally known as Rúmí Khán's haveli. Here are the extensive remains of a large palace of red sandstone, with a river wall (now on the land side of the road) terminating in two domed towers or cupolas. It is said to have been the residence of Islám Khán Rúmí (the Turk), who is said to have been one Husain Pásha of Basra and subject of the Sultán of Turkey; he deserted the Sultán's service and rose high in the service of Jahángír, attaining the title of Wazír Islám Khán.

Ruins on the river bank from Fort to Táj.

The road at this point strikes inland as the river bears away to the left. All along the river bank to the Táj are ruins of old palaces, gardens, &c. One considerable ruin on the water's edge is known as Shísh Mahal and also as Deorhi Sáhib Jí. Here was Mahábat Khán's house. Beyond, close to the burning ghát, is a shrine known as Dargáh Jalál-ud-dín Bukhárí, said to have died 1057 H. in Sháh Jahán's time. Here were the palaces of Rája Todar Mal and Rája Mán Sinh. Between the burning ghát and the Táj lies an extensive garden with a waterside building known as Bágh Khán 'Álam.

Fatehpuri Masjid.

On the right hand or southern side of the road outside the western entrance of the Táj outer quadrangle stands a mosque of red sandstone on an elevated platform. This is called the Fatehpuri Masjid and is said to be of the same date as the Táj itself. It consists of a central compartment, supported on two rows of arches, and surmounted by a dome of the same shape as that of the Táj; and on each side two compartments with flat roofs supported on double rows of pillars meeting in engrailed arches. On the opposite side of the road to this mosque is an octangular domed building of red sandstone rather low placed on a wide and elevated platform with rows of arcades underneath. The building contains two plain tombs of white marble and is known as Sahelián ká gumbaz.

Táj Mahal.

The Táj Mahal, often called simply the Táj, or by natives Rauza or Táj-ká Rauza, is situated on the right bank of the Jumna, about a mile and a half below the Fort. This great mausoleum, which has been classed among the 'wonders of the world,' was built by the emperor Sháh Jahán in honour of Mumtáz-i-Mahal, 'exalted one of the palace,' the title of his favourite wife, whose proper name was Arjmand

Bánu Begam or Nawáb 'Aliyá Begam. [The latter is the title given to her in the *Bádsháh-náma*. See Dowson's *Elliot*, VII., 27.] Her father was the minister Asaf Khán, whose original name was Mirza Abul Hasan. He was an elder brother of Núr Jahán, the famous queen of the preceding emperor Jahángír, and second son of Mirza Ghiás Beg, better known by his title I'timád-ud-daula.

The record we possess of the 'Lady of the Táj' (Táj Bíbi) as she is universally styled by the natives, is a brief one. In addition to her parentage just mentioned, we know that she was born in 1000 H. (1592 A.D.); married to the prince Mirza Khurram (afterwards Sháh Jahán) in 1021 H. (1612 A.D.), and that by him she had several children. The record of her death in the *Bádsháh-náma*, the great authority for Sháh Jahán's reign, is a brief one. We read:—"On the 17th Zí'l Ka'da, 1040, died Nawáb 'Aliyá Begam, in the fortieth year of her age, to the great grief of her husband the emperor. * * * She had borne him eight sons and six daughters. The third child and eldest son was Muhammad Dárá Shikoh, the fourth Muhammad Sháh Shujá, the sixth Muhammad Aurangzeb, the tenth Murád Bakhsh." The date above given for her death corresponds to the 30th of June, 1631 A.D.

Of the approaches to the main building and its environment we cannot have a better description than Bayard Taylor's.[1] He writes:—

"The Táj stands on the bank of the Jumna, rather more than a mile to the eastward of the Fort of Agra. It is approached by a handsome road cut through the mounds left by the ruins of ancient palaces. Like the tomb of Akbar it stands in a large garden, inclosed by a lofty wall of red sandstone, with arched galleries around the interior, and entered by a superb gateway of sandstone, inlaid with ornaments and inscriptions from the *Kurán*, in white marble. Outside of this grand portal, however, is a spacious quadrangle of solid masonry, with an elegant structure, intended as a caravanserai on the opposite side. Whatever may be the visitor's impatience, he cannot help pausing to notice the fine proportions of these structures, and the rich and massive style of their construction. The gate to the garden of the Táj is not so large as that of Akbar's tomb, but quite as beautiful in design. Passing under the open demi-vault, whose arch hangs high above you, an avenue of dark Italian cypress appears before you. Down its centre sparkles a long row of fountains, each casting up a single slender jet. On both sides, the palm, the banyan, and a feathery bamboo mingle their foliage; the song of birds meets your ears, and the odour of roses and lemon-flowers sweetens the air. Down such a vista and over such a foreground rises the Táj."

The following description of the Táj itself is taken from Mr. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (pp. 595-9):—

"No building in India has been so often drawn and photographed as this or more frequently described; but, with all this, it is almost impossible to

[1] To those who have not seen the Táj, the accompanying view of it, reproduced for this volume from a photograph kindly lent for the purpose by Mr. G. W. Lawrie, will convey some idea, although necessarily an imperfect one, of its beauty and dimensions.

convey an idea of it to those who have not seen it, not only because of its extreme delicacy, and the beauty of the materials employed in its construction, but from the complexity of its design. If the Táj were only the tomb itself, it might be described; but the platform on which it stands, with its tall minarets, is a work of art in itself. Beyond this are the two wings, one of which is a mosque, which anywhere else would be considered an important building. This group of buildings forms one side of a garden court 880 feet square; and beyond this again is an outer court, of the same width, but only half the depth. This is entered by three gateways of its own, and contains in the centre of its inner wall the great gateway of the garden court, a worthy pendant to the Táj itself.[1] Beautiful as it is in itself, the Táj would lose half its charm if it stood alone. It is the combination of so many beauties, and the perfect manner in which each is subordinated to the other, that makes up a whole which the world cannot match, and which never fails to impress even those who are most indifferent to *the effects produced by architectural objects in general.*

"The plan and section[2] explain sufficiently the general arrangement and structural peculiarities of the tomb or principal building of the group. The raised platform on which it stands is 18 feet high, faced with white marble, and exactly 313 feet square. At each corner of this terrace stands a minaret 133 feet in height, and of the most exquisite proportions, more beautiful, perhaps, than any other in India. In the centre of this marble platform stands the mausoleum, a square of 186 feet, with the corners cut off to the extent of 33 feet 9 inches. The centre of this is occupied by the principal dome, 58 feet in diameter and 80 feet in height, under which is an enclosure formed by a screen of trellis-work of white marble, a *chef d'œuvre* of elegance in Indian art.[3] Within this stand the tombs—that of Mumtáz-i-Mahal in the centre, and that of Sháh Jahán on one side. These, however, as is usual in Indian sepulchres, are not the true tombs—the bodies rest in a vault, level with the surface of the ground (as seen in the section) beneath plainer tombstones, placed exactly underneath those in the hall above.

"In every angle of the building is a small domical apartment of two stories in height, 26 feet 8 inches in diameter, and these are connected, as shown in the plan, by various passages and halls.

[1] A plan of this garden, with the Táj and all the surrounding buildings, will be found in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII., p 42.—*Note by Mr. Fergusson.* [2] These will be found at p. 597 of the work quoted. The plan given with this notice has been reduced from a large drawing lent by Mr. W. F Heath, Executive Engineer, in charge of the Archæological Department, Public Works, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.—*Note by Editor.* [3] From its design I cannot help fancying that this screen was erected after Sháh Jahán's death. It certainly looks more modern.—*Note by Mr. Fergusson.*

"The light to the central apartment is admitted only through double screens of white marble trellis-work of the most exquisite design, one on the outer and one on the inner face of the walls. In our climate this would produce nearly complete darkness; but in India, and in a building wholly composed of white marble, this was required to temper the glare that otherwise would have been intolerable. As it is, no words can express the chastened beauty of that central chamber, seen in the soft gloom of the subdued light that reaches it through the distant and half-closed openings that surround it. When used as a *bára-dari*, or pleasure palace, it must always have been the coolest and the loveliest of garden retreats, and now that it is sacred to the dead, it is the most graceful and the most impressive of the sepulchres of the world.[1]

"This building, too, is an exquisite example of that system of inlaying with precious stones which became the great characteristic of the style of the Mughals after the death of Akbar. All the spandrils of the Táj, all the angles and more important architectural details, are heightened by being inlaid with precious stones, such as agates, bloodstones, jaspers, and the like. These are combined in wreaths, scrolls, and frets, as exquisite in design as beautiful in colours; relieved by the pure white marble in which they are inlaid, they form the most beautiful and precious style of ornament ever adopted in architecture; though, of course, not to be compared with the intellectual beauty of Greek ornament, it certainly stands first among the purely decorative forms of architectural design. This mode of ornamentation is lavishly bestowed on the tombs themselves and the screen that surrounds them, though sparingly introduced on the mosque that forms one wing of the Táj, or on the fountains and surrounding buildings. The judgment, indeed, with which this style of ornament is apportioned to the various parts is almost as remarkable as the ornament itself, and conveys a high idea of the taste and skill of the Indian architects of that age.

"The long rows of cypresses, which line the marble-paths that intersect the garden at right angles, are now of venerable age; and, backed up by masses of evergreen foliage, lend a charm to the whole which the founder and his children could hardly have realised. Each of the main avenues among these trees has a canal along its centre studded with marble fountains, and each vista leads to some beautiful architectural object. With the Jumna in front and this

[1] "Fergusson must be mistaken in supposing that the Táj was ever used as a pleasure palace. Whatever may have been the case with other Mughal tombs, the Táj could never have been put to any other purpose than that of a mausoleum: for, unlike some others where the old Tartar custom may have been followed, this tomb was built long after the death of the princess whose body is preserved in it."—*Note by General Cunningham.*

garden with its fountains and gateways behind, with its own purity of material and grace of form, the Táj may challenge comparison with any creation of the same sort in the whole world. Its beauty may not be of the highest class, but in its class, it is unsurpassed."

To the measurements given in the above extracts, Mr. Keene gives [on the authority of Lieutenant (now Major) Boughey, R.E] the following heights :—

From garden level to lower platform			...	4	feet.
"	"	plinth (upper ditto)	...	22½	"
"	"	point of archway	...	80	"
"	"	top of parapet over ditto	...	114½	"
"	"	springing of dome	...	130½	"
"	"	top of ditto (base of metal pinnacle)	...	213½	"
"	"	summit of pinnacle	...	243½	"
"	"	platform at top of minarets	...	137	"
"	"	summit of metal pinnacle on ditto	...	162½	"

The echo inside the main building is described as so quick that it catches the notes and runs them into one another so as to produce a most distressing discord, unless the notes chosen be such as form a natural harmony. The chord of the seventh, writes Mr. Keene, produces a very beautiful effect.

The mosque, with three domes of white marble, occupies the left wing and has a counterpart (*jawáb*) in a precisely similar building on the right-hand side of the Táj. This last is sometimes called the false mosque, but it is in no sense dedicated to religious purpose, and the use of the wing towards the river as a rest-house for travellers cannot be construed into desecration. On the pavement in front of the false mosque (*jawáb*), will be found traced a representation of the brass ball, crescent, and spike which cap the dome of the Táj. English fancy bázárs and native fairs are occasionally held in the garden, and on rare occasions (for example during the visit of the Prince of Wales to Agra in 1876) illuminations, by means of lime-light and Chinese lanterns, have been thought not inconsistent with the character of the place ; but these invasions have been rare, and few things strike the visitor at ordinary seasons more than the air of serene majesty that pervades the whole precincts of the Táj.

Among early descriptions of the Táj may be mentioned that of Francis Bernier, who visited India in the reign of Aurangzeb about 1655, and remained there twelve years. His description (quoted at length by Mr. Keene in his *Hand-book*, p. 23, and to be found at p. 332, Vol. I. of Mr. Brock's translation of Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, published in Calcutta) shows that the buildings were in much the same state in his time as now. The fact, however, that no mention of the screen is made by Bernier led Mr. Keene to conclude that it

was not then in existence, and he thinks it may have been added in the reign of Aurangzeb. In the description Bernier gives of the approaches to the main buildings and of the garden, the visitor of the present day would find it difficult to identify the existing appearances. He also mentions that the chamber under the dome was only opened once a year, and that as no Christian was admitted within, lest its sanctity should be profaned, he did not see the interior. This may account for the absence of any mention of the screen without the necessity of assuming that it did not then exist.

Mr. Keene states, on the authority of Father Manrique, a Spanish monk of the Augustinian order who was at Agra in 1641, that a Venetian, Geronimo Verroneo, was commissioned by Sháh Jahán to prepare the estimates and plans of the building, which was originally designed to cost three krors of rupees. Verroneo died at Láhore long before the work was completed, and it is supposed that it was then entrusted to a Byzantine Turk. But Austin of Bordeaux, a French artist in the service of Sháh Jahán, seems to have been consulted as to the inlaying work. The popular account of the length of time—seventeen years—occupied in the collection of materials is doubtless exaggerated, or at least construction was not delayed for that time. The following dates of inscriptions found on the Táj seem to show the order in which the various parts of the building were completed: (1) on the outside of the west arch facing the mosque, A.H. 1046, 10th year of Sháh Jahán; (2) at the end of the inscription on the left-hand side of the entrance (within) A.H. 1048; and (3) on the front gateway A.H. 1057 (A.D. 1648). The last marks the completion of the building. The inscriptions on all these arches are in the Toghra character, taken from *Súras* of the *Kurán*, appropriate to mourning and spiritual hope. On the front of the entrance is a passage ending with an invitation to the pure of heart to enter the Garden of Paradise.

On the tomb of Mumtáz-i-Mahal is the following inscription :—

Markad-i-Munawwar-i-Arjmand Bánú Begam Mukhátab ba Mumtáz-i-Mahal tawfiyat, san 1040.

"The splendid resting-place of Arjmand Bánú Begam, entitled Mumtáz-i-Mahal, who died 1040 Hijrí."

On the tomb of Sháh Jahán we read :—

Marhad-i-mutahhar-i-Álí-i-hazrat-i firdaws-áshyání-e-sáhib-Kirán-i-sání Shah Jahán bádsháh tába sirruhu.

"The sacred and most sublime sepulchre of His Majesty (whose dwelling is Paradise), second of the lords of felicity, Sháh Jahán, king. May his grave be fragrant! 1076 Hijrí"

Regarding the title '*Sáhib-i-kirán-sání*,' it may be noted that Timúr (Tamerlane) was the first to whom the title *Sáhib-i-Kirán* (born during the conjunction of the two beneficent planets—Jupiter and Venus) was applied. The

term is sometimes used generally with the meaning "august hero," "lord of felicity."

The white marble that forms the substance of the building came, Mr. Keene thinks, from Makrána near Jaipur, but, according to Mr. Hacket, from Raiwála in Jaipur, near the Alwar border.[1] The red sandstone came, doubtless, from Fatehpur-Síkri. The jewels are partly Indian and partly from Persia and other trans-Himálayan regions.

The notion that the Táj was designed by Italians is confirmed by Manrique. "But nothing," writes Mr. Keene, "can be less Italian than the general conception of the building with its simple and even stiff contour, nothing ever more in harmony with the style of Eastern feeling *which regards a white muslin tunic and an aigrette of diamonds as full-dress for an emperor.* The tomb of Humáyún (A.D. 1556) seems to have been the chief model of the elevation. It is otherwise, however, with the inlaid work, or Indian *pietra dura*. Though specimens of this art occur here and there in earlier buildings, yet we have only to compare the Táj *pietra dura* with that of the palace or of I'timád-ud-daula's tomb (to go back no earlier) and be convinced at once that some new element had entered into the design and practice Instead of the geometric patterns of the earlier buildings, flowers are now fully introduced, and are in numerous cases treated with an attempt at realism which savours rather of Europe than of the East"

Mr. Keene thinks it extremely probable that the art of inlaying had even then become modified by European ideas, and in support of this view states that "the portrait of Austin in *pietra dura* was once to be seen at the back of the throne in the Diwán-i-Khás at Sháh Jahán's palace in the fort of New Dehli, and he died in India. He is mentioned by Bernier and Tavernier, and his career closed before Sháh Jahán's death."

From the account given by the native annalists of the cost of the Táj, it may be set down at Rs. 1,84,65,186, or nearly £2,000,000 sterling. Of this Rs. 98,55,426 was contributed by tributary rájas and nawábs and Rs. 86,09,760 by the imperial treasury. It is recorded that the entrance to the Táj was furnished with two silver doors, the cost of which alone is stated to have been Rs. 1,27,000 (£12,700). These gates were, it is said, studded with 1,100 nails, each having a head made of a Sonát rupee. The Játs are usually credited with having stolen and melted these down during the sacking of Agra. It should be stated, however, that the absence of exact information regarding the purchasing power of the rupee prevents our forming an accurate idea of the cost entailed in the construction of the Táj. It must also be remembered that the labour was all forced and that very little payment was made in cash.

The finest view of the Táj by the light of the full moon is obtained from the extreme south-east corner of the terrace.

[1] *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, X., 84. The account of these marbles given in the *Rájputána Gazetteer* (II., 127) favours Mr. Keene's view.

Old palace near the Táj.

Close to the Táj on the east on the bank of the river are the remains of a large palace and walled garden, known as Triyal or Tiliyar-ká-Baghícha, and said by some to be Mahábat Khán's. A little lower down are the remains of a very large water-side palace; the red sandstone-wall, Lál Díwán, and a fine bastion or tower are still standing. A little inland is a large pile of ruins. This is all said to have been a residence (haveli) of Nawáb Khán, Daurán Khan Wazír A'zam. Close by is Ahmad Bukhári's dargáh. There is a tomb resembling those in the corner courts of the outer quadrangle and a small mosque just outside the east gateway of the Táj outer quadrangle; and in Basai there is a tomb known as Rauza Diwánjí. Between Tájganj and the south-eastern extremity of cantonments is a large walled enclosure called Bágh Mahábat Khán.

Ruins in cantonments.

There are not many noticeable ruins about cantonments. South of them, east and west of the Gwáliár road, approaching the third milestone from the Fort, lie Takht Pahlwán and Rauza Fíroz Khán. The former name is given to a small village, built close round a mausoleum, supposed to be that of some wrestler, of imperial times. The name Takht is given in consequence of there being a large slab of stone, eight feet square, lying in the fields 100 yards to the west, called Takht Pahlwán. The mausoleum is a square building of red sandstone with four arched doorways, and surmounted by a dome placed high on a platform supported on arches with four domed cupolas supported on pillars at the corners. The tomb of Fíroz Khán is supposed to be that of the eunuch of the palace to Akbar, who built Fírozabad. There are here the remains of a large masonry tank from which the village surrounding the tank and tomb is called Tál Fíroz Khán. The village lies mostly within the octagonal walled enclosure of the tomb. The mausoleum is an octagonal domed building of red sandstone, standing on a high raised octagonal platform, underneath which is a dome roof crypt containing the remains of two tombs. On the east of the platform is a lofty portal of red sandstone, the face of which is most elaborately carved; so, too, is the whole of the interior of the main building, and also adorned with glazed coloured tiles and enamelling. The mausoleum is a large and beautiful one, and the ornamentation is Hindu in character. If built in honor of Fíroz Khán of Fírozabad it would be of Akbar's time.

Makhni ká Gumbaz.

The Dargáh known as Makhni (or Magdi) ká Gumbaz consists of one central chamber, with a shrine for offerings much like a Hindu temple, and two side-chambers. In front is a wide and lofty portico or verandah closed at the ends and supported on four

pillars (including the corners). The wide eaves of the portico are supported by brackets, shaped to resemble elephants, peacocks, horses with riders; a similar ornament figures in one of the windows over the doorway of one chamber. The building is in fact very Hindu in character, hardly such as would be erected over a Muhammadan saint or martyr. A suggestion has been made by Mr. Carlleyle (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., 110) that this building formed part of a colonnade running all round the great Dehra Bágh which lay here. The history of the *bágh*, or garden, is uncertain, but it is by some ascribed, like Zohara Bágh near Rám Bágh, to Zohra, daughter of Bábar. The *bágh* is now open land, but there are the remains of many wells; it is also known as Bágh Núr Manzil.

Dehra Bágh.

Proceeding northwards across the Khairágarh road, near Khwája ká Saráí, not far from the latter hamlet, will be found the ruins of the Jodh Bái Mahal. This is a complete ruin. The mausoleum would appear to have been about 80 feet square with a vault underneath. It was the tomb of Jodh Bái, probably the Rájput princess of Jodhpur whom Jahángír married (see Blochmann's *Aín*, p. 619).

Jodh Bái Mahal.

Returning by the Khairágarh road towards the Fort, the 'Ídgáh will be found situated about one mile from the Tripolia. This building stands at the west end of a great walled enclosure, about 570 feet in length by 530 in width, having an octagonal tower at each corner, and principal entrance gateway in the centre of the east side. The mosque itself is built of red sandstone, and is about 160 feet in length by 40 in breadth. There are five arched openings to the front supported on six pillars, the central arch being loftier than the rest. Two slender shafts rise from the west wall of the central compartment to a considerable height. There is no inscription on the building, but it is said to be of Sháh Jahán's time, and was (tradition says) built in forty days.

'Ídgáh.

Returning towards the city there will be found close to the Chhípitola what are known as Hammám Alláh Vardi Khán, or 'baths of Alláh Vardi Khán.' The entrance to these is by a fine arched doorway faced with red sandstone, ornamented with carving in relief and with a Persian inscription over the doorway, from which we learn that the baths were built by Alláh Vardi Khán in the reign of Jahángír. The text and a translation will be found in *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., 198; the part giving the date is partially obliterated, but it is conjectured to be 1030 H. or 1620 A.D. Adjoining the baths on the east is a large courtyard, entered

Hammám Alláh Vardi Khán.

by an arched gateway and surrounded with sets of chambers in two stories, apparently intended for a spacious caravanserai.

Shâh Wiláyat's tomb and mosque.

In the ward of Nái ki Mandi quarter known as Darbár Sháhjí will be found the *dargáh*, or mosque, and shrine of Sháh Wiláyat. This building is not remarkable for its size or architecture, but rather for its antiquity and the traditions connected with it. It is a low building, in dimensions about 46 feet by 19 feet, plainly built of bricks and plaster, with three arched entrances on the east, and crowned with three domes, in the style of transition from Pathán to early Mughal architecture. The central arch, the loftiest of the three, is but 5 feet 8 inches in height, and the whole building bears the appearance of having sunk into the ground up to the opening of the central arch ; thus losing probably two-thirds of its height. With this sinking is connected a legend. It is said that when Sher Sháh came to Agra he allowed his camel-driver to stable camels in the mosque; this act of desecration evoked the curses of the saint or *fakir* of the mosque, Sháh Wiláyat, whereupon the mosque sank, enclosing and killing the camels. [See *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., p. 174, where this and other legends are set out at greater length.] This legend makes the mosque at least as old as Sher Sháh's time, and it is confirmed by the inscription on the Sháh's tomb, an octagonal mausoleum, with a dome supported on eight pillars, close to the mosque, which gives the date of the saint's death as 953 H., the first year of Salím Sháh's reign. The mosque may therefore well be, as currently believed, of Bábar's time, if not older. If the sinking of the building is to be ascribed to an earthquake, there was one in 1502 A.D., in the time of Sikandar Lodi. The Sháh's full designation was Sháh Alá-ud-dín Majzúb, son of Saiyid Sulaimán of Medina. He established a school of Muhammadan law at Agra and built the mosque. Connected with it are a series of cloisters, perhaps an old monastery (*khánkáh*).

Akbari Masjid.

The Akbari Masjid is situated at the head of the Kinári Bázár close to the *chauk*, or four cross-roads. This mosque was built by Akbar, but was entirely restored, about the time of the Mutiny, under the auspices of the Muhammadan local agency. The building is of red sandstone and in dimensions about 84 feet by 20 feet. There are seven arched openings to the front, and the roof (flat) is supported on three rows of eight columns, the spaces between the columns on the south, west, and north, being closed up with walls. A single dome, showing only slightly inside, surmounts the eastern half of the central compartment, where the pulpit stands. The roof is further relieved by four cupolas with domes supported on

eight shafts, one at each corner. A paved court is in front of the mosque overlooking the street below.

Káli or Kalán Masjid.

In the Sábon Katra (soap market) ward of the quarter known as Bágh Hiraman is what is generally called the Káli Masjid, the proper name of which is not improbably Kalán Masjid, 'the great mosque.' This mosque has a very antique appearance, and has been conjectured to be as old as Sikandar Lodí's time, which would make it quite the oldest in Agra. It is traditionally ascribed to Muzaffar Husain, grandson of Ismail Sháh Súfi, king of Persia, and father of the wife of Sháh Jahán, buried in Kandhári Bágh. If this tradition be true, the mosque is much less ancient than it looks. In dimensions it is about 128 feet by 34, and is plainly built of bricks and plaster; the east front has been faced with sandstone, but most of it has fallen off. There are five compartments with arched openings to the east, and the building is crowned with five domes, of which the centre is considerably larger than the rest; similarly the central arch rises higher than the rest, and the pediment partially conceals the dome. The domes are of the low transitional shape, rising, without any bulge outwards, from perpendicular basis; they are black with age, hence perhaps, the name Káli Masjid. The courses of masonry in the domes are horizontal; and the whole building is of old Hindu bricks, larger and flatter than those generally used in mosques. There is a large pavement about 130 feet by 190 in front of the mosque, and connected with it are a school of the same period and a tashíh-khána, with low hemispherical domes. Not far off is an ancient hammám, or bath, of the same period, a lofty building about 60 feet in length by 34 in breadth, and surmounted by a large but low hemispherical dome.

Mu'tamid Khán's mosque.

The mosque of Mu'tamid Khán lies on the south side of Káshmíri Bázár. The founder of this mosque, from whom it takes its name, was a bakshi, or treasurer, to the emperor Jahángír. The mosque is built of red sandstone, and is in dimensions about 53 feet by 20. It has three arched openings to the east front, the middle one slightly larger and higher than the others. The carving of the stone on the front is somewhat florid; the roof is crowned with three domes, rather low and flat in shape, covered with white plaster; and there are four octagonal cupolas, one at each corner of the roof.

Eunuchs' mosque.

In the outlying quarter of Lohá ki Mandi will be found the Eunuchs' mosque (*Masjid Mukhan Nishán*, or *Hijron ki Masjid*). This is a very elegant though not large mosque, built of pale red sandstone and crowned with three domes of solid stone. In dimensions

it is about 51 feet by 20, and is made up of three compartments, of which the centre is the principal. There are three arched openings on the front or east, and two doorways in the north and south walls. In the rear or west wall of each of the side chambers, at about 5½ feet from the floor, are the windows filled with beautiful stone lattice work. At each corner of the front of the mosque is an octagonal tower, and in front of it is a large raised masonry platform, 83 feet east to west and 95 north to south, with a tank 19 feet square in the centre and octagonal towers at each corner. The legend of the mosque connects it with Akbar's time, it being related that the advice of a saintly eunuch, by name Yatima, was sought by Akbar, in a time of drought, when the prayers of other righteous men had failed. The eunuch's prayers brought rain, but he refused to take a reward; till, on being pressed, he suggested the erection of a building which should perpetuate both his name and the emperor's.

Ancient buildings outside the city.

There are no other buildings of note within the city. Proceeding northwards from the city, by the road from Belanganj to Balkeswar, there will be observed the remains of several gardens along the river bank opposite to Chini-ká-Rauza, Zohara Bágh, and Rám Bágh. Amongst these are the following gardens: Bágh Rái Shee Dás, from a naib súbadár of Agra of that name, in the time of Muhammad Sháh; Hakimji-ká-Bágh, or the garden of Hakím Karím 'Ali Khán; and a still better known Rauza Ja'far Khán from a *mansabdár* of 5,000 in the time of Sháh Jahán. The last is a large walled river-side garden, with towers at each corner; in the centre is a mausoleum, a large rectangular building on an elevated platform, one story in height and flat roofed.

Chhattri Rája Jaswant Sinh.

Proceeding further up the river, just below the village of Rajwarea, will be found the Chhattri Rája Jaswant Sinh. In the centre of a walled garden enclosure stands a square building of red sandstone, with a flat roof supported on pillars. The entire space between the pillars is filled with open lattice-work in stone of varied and beautiful patterns. Access is gained to the interior on the east or river-side by folding-doors of solid stone slabs. The main doorway of the enclosure is in the centre of the river-side wall, and here a flight of steps leads to the edge of the river. The exterior wall towards the river is faced with red sandstone, beautifully carved in relief, with figures of long-necked vases and wreaths of flowers. The whole is in good preservation and is a conspicuous object from the Rám Bágh on the other side of the river. Rája Jaswant Sinh of Jodhpur, the great ally of Dára Shikoh in his earlier and

more successful days, died in Kábul about 1677 A.D., in the reign of Aurangzeb, and it is therefore scarcely likely that his body was burnt here.

Mahal Rája Bhoj.

Still further up the river, near the temple of Mahádeo Balkeswar, is the traditional site of Mahal Rája Bhoj, but what Rája Bhoj it was is doubtful (see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., p. 96).

Bágh Ládli Begam.

Bágh Ládli Begam, near the temple of Sítalá, is a large enclosure, about 112 yards square, surrounded by a lofty wall of red sandstone with crenelated battlements, and with towers at each corner. In the centre of the south side is a lofty arched gateway, somewhat resembling the style of Fatehpur Síkri; and similar arched buildings and false gateways stand at the entrances on the other three sides. In the centre of the enclosure now stands a Hindu Chhattri, or pavilion, erected some few years ago by the Mathura Seths, the present occupiers of the garden. Here stood the tomb of Ládli Begam, and it is also said of Shaikh Faizi. The lady was the sister of Faizi, and Abul Fazl, and wife of Islám Khán, grandson of Shaikh Salim Chishti, and governor of Bengal under Jahángír. She died in 1608 A.D., but the Arabic inscription over the gateway shows the buildings to have been erected some years before in 1004 H. (1596 A.D.) during Akbar's reign. Not far from the gateway is a remarkably fine *báolí*, or large well, with staircases leading down to the water, and with underground chambers in three stories or galleries running round it.

Kandhári Bágh.

There is not much to notice in the Kandhári Bágh, a large walled enclosure with domed cupolas at the corners, the building in the centre of which was originally the tomb of one of Sháh Jahán's queens, a daughter of Muzaffar Husain, grandson of Ismail Sháh, king of Persia. Early in British rule this tomb was converted into a court-house; it is now the occasional residence of the rája of Bhartpur.

Sádik Khán's tomb.

At no great distance west of Ládli Bágh and Kandhári Bágh, in the fields north of the Sikandra road, is supposed to be the tomb of Sádik Khán, Akbar's spiritual guide (see Beale's *Oriental Biography, s.v.*). This is a large and lofty octagonal building, placed on a raised platform and surmounted with a dome. In the centre of each side is a recess with engrailed arch, and above each is a tier of three engrailed arched windows flanked by two square-topped doorways.

Tomb of Salábat Khán.

To the west of this stands on a raised platform a square open hall, supported on 64 pillars in six rows each way, the outer rows doubled, and the corner groups quadrupled. The building is flat roofed, and of red sandstone. At the corners of the platform

are square domed-cupolas, supported on four pillars; the ceilings are ornamented with paintings of flowers on polished stucco. This unique hall has been identified with the tomb of Salábat Khán, but, Mr. Benson thinks, erroneously so. Salábat Khán was bakhshi, or paymaster, to Sháh Jahán, and is said to have been killed in darbár by Amar Sinh Ráthor, after whom the Amar Sinh gate of the Fort is named (Beale's *Oriental Biography*, *s.v.*).

Tomb on the Sikandra Road.

Opposite to the stone horse on the Sikandra road, about four miles from Agra, is the lofty arched gateway of an ancient sarái, said to be that of I'tibár Khán Khwája. North of this is a large well, and north-west, at a short distance, a building said to be the tomb of I'tibár Khán, but conjectured by Mr. Carlleyle to be that of Sikandar Lodi. This building stands on a large platform about 110 feet square, supported on eight arched vaults in each side, and with domed cupolas on four pillars at each corner. The building has originally been an open *báradari*, but is now walled up. The roof is surmounted with one principal dome in the centre and four inferior ones at each corner.

Guru ká Tál.

At a very short distance from this on the west is a very fine masonry tank partially in ruins, also said to be I'tibár Khán's, but more commonly known as Guru ká Tál. The tank is about 180 yards square, and of considerable depth. On the south side, near the south-east angle, is the canal that feeds it, with a small subordinate tank for collecting the water; and there appear to have been overflow outlets on the west.

Custody and care of ancient buildings

The principal mosques, such as the Jámi' Masjid and the Akbari Masjid, are managed by a board of local agent Muhammadans, five in number, constituted under Regulation XIX. of 1810. They have an income of Rs. 13,000, with an expenditure of Rs. 12,600. The great part of the land surrounding the city belongs to Government, and a large part of the income is credited to the municipality. The remainder, amounting usually to about Rs. 5,000 a year, is principally devoted to the maintenance of the gardens at the Táj, Rám Bágh, I'timád-ud-daulá, and Sikandra, to the support of which Government also gives a yearly grant. Ancient buildings have of late met with much better treatment than is recorded concerning them in former days. In 1809 a committee was appointed to supervise the repairs of the Táj and Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, and up to 1814 a lákh of rupees had been spent in these works. In 1855, Colonel Sleeman pointed out that the tomb of I'timád-ud-daulá had been sadly neglected, and left to fall to ruin by its proprietor; it is now under the care of the local committee, and has

been placed in a proper state of repair. Of recent years large sums have been expended for the repairs and restoration of the places in the Fort, and of the Táj Mahal, and further sums have been sanctioned. The duty of carrying out these repairs has been entrusted, since 1876, to a special division (the Archæological) under an experienced officer of the Public Works Department. Up to the end of the year 1881-82, Rs. 1,27,195 had been expended on the Táj, Rs. 73,815 on the palace buildings in the Fort, and Rs. 2,29,905 on other ancient buildings.

Local history.

The history of Agra city has been given in that of the district, and it would be mere repetition to give it here at any length. The following brief summary of events will suffice. The early history goes back only to the time of Sikandar Lodi (1492 A.D.), who made it his capital, but legends of a more ancient city are not wanting. According to one of these it was once known as Jamparast, having been founded by a Rája Bans, son of Rája Jamráj, and named in honor of the latter. Another ancient name is said to have been Nagarchín. Native historians describe the city as originally a village in parganah Biána (now in Bhartpur native state); and tradition assigns to the quarter of Ráwatpára, near the Fort, the honor of being the site of that original village, which was inhabited, it is said, by Ráwats.

Bábar and Humáyún, the first two Mughal emperors of Hindustán, resided here, but arguments have been adduced (*vide supra*, page 589) to prove that their city of Agra was on the opposite bank of the Jumna from that on which stood the city of the Lodi emperor, and on which the later one of Akbar was built; Akbar took up his residence here in 1556, and began the building or rebuilding of the Fort about 1567. His preference as a place of residence was, however, given to Fatehpur Síkri, and even to Allahabad rather than to Agra, although Agra was his capital and bore his name, Akbarabad. This name, it is said, is still as commonly heard among natives, especially among Muhammadans, as the more ancient Hindu name (Ágra). During the hundred years succeeding Akbar's succession most of the principal buildings of architectural importance in and near Agra came into existence. There can be little doubt, too, that during this period the city grew to dimensions far exceeding those of the present one, and tradition says that the Jumna ran, in those days, like a canal through the heart of the city, which extended 10 *kos* in length and 4 in width on the right, and 3 in length and 2 in width on the left bank. The remains of ancient gardens, palaces, and tombs, although they scarcely substantiate the traditional account of its extent, prove

the former existence of a much larger city and suburbs than we see at the present day.

The commencement of Sháh Jahán's reign (1628) probably marks the commencement of the most prosperous period in the city's history. To that emperor are due the Jámi' Masjid, or great mosque; the Tripolia market place; the principal buildings in the Fort, such as the Chihal Sutún, the Díwán-i-'Ám and Díwán-i-Khás, the baths and sleeping apartment, and the Moti Masjid or pearl mosque; and most famous of all, the Táj Mahal. These are a few only of the many monuments of this reign. There was also considerable commercial prosperity, and a large community of Christians had settled here, whose members were engaged in trade, or in the imperial service. A French writer, M. de Thevenot (quoted in Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, II., 49), who visited Agra in 1666, says, "some affirm that there are 25,000 Christian families in Agra; but all do not agree in that. The Dutch have a factory, but the English have now none, because it did not turn to account." Sháh Jahán is credited with having entertained the design of rebuilding the city, and is said to have even commenced the demolition of the narrow, crooked streets, when the complaints of the citizens induced him to abandon the project and to build Sháhjahánabad or Dehli instead.

Under his successor, Aurangzeb, Agra decreased somewhat in importance, as that emperor made Dehli his capital and chief residence. Bernier, who acted as physician to Aurangzeb for eight out of the twelve years (*cir.* 1655-67 A.D.) he spent in Hindustán, tells us (*Travels in the Mughal Empire*, translated by Irving Block, I., page 321) that "Agra having been a favourite and more frequent abode of the kings of Hindustán since the days of Akbar, it surpasses Dehli in extent, in the multitude of residences belonging to omrahs and rájas, and of the good stone or brick houses inhabited by private individuals; and in the number and convenience of its caravanserais." He adds, however, that, "not having been constructed after any settled design, it wants the uniform and wide streets that so eminently distinguish Dehli." Beyond adding the fosse to the Fort, and perhaps building the Mubárak-Manzil (till recently used as the custom-house), Aurangzeb contributed little to the architecture of the city.

Agra continued to flourish till the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1719—1748 A.D.) It was in this reign probably that the embattled wall already mentioned was built round the city. It stood a siege in 1757 A.D. by Ahmad Sháh Durráni, and in 1761 (or 1764) passed into the hands of the Ját chief, Súraj Mal. The injury inflicted by the Játs to the public buildings has been mon-

tioned in the district history (*supra*, p. 619). Suraj Mal was succeeded by Jawáhir Sinh, who lived in the Agra palace, where he was murdered in 1766. Agra was recaptured for the emperor by Najaf Khán in 1774, and that chief himself resided in the palace for five years. Sindhia captured the Fort in March, 1784, and the city remained in Marhatta possession until taken by the British, under Lord Lake, in October, 1803. It has ever since remained in British occupation.

Agra became the capital of the north-western provinces in 1836, on their being constituted a separate lieutenant-governorship. It remained the capital until 1868, when the head-quarters of Government were transferred to Allahabád. The share taken by this city in the events of 1857-58 has been detailed in the district notice and the narrative need not be recapitulated. The chief incidents since that period have been the visit of the Prince of Wales in January, 1876, and the completion of the Jumna bridge in the same year.

Aháran.—Agricultural village in the north-east of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 21 miles north-east from Agra, and 12 miles north from I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-21′-12″; longitude 78°-16′-56″. Population (1881) 2,638 (1,189 females). It has a second-class police-station.

Báh.—House-tax (*chaukidári*) town in the centre of tahsíl Panáhat, and head-quarters of the tahsíl since January, 1882; distant 45 miles south-east from Agra; is situated on the unmetalled road from Agra to Etáwah. Latitude 26°-52′-30″; longitude 78°-38′-13″. Population (1881) 3,649 (1,917 females). The town is in a fairly prosperous condition, and is in many respects far in advance of larger places. It has four gateways, but no gates; and the houses are so built as to form a fairly perfect circuit wall. Many of the houses are well built of masonry. There is a roadway from east to west and another from north to south; so that the two roads have a cross-shaped ground plan, and divide the town into four parts. The roads are for the most part lined by shops with handsome masonry fronts. The market-place is in a wide open square space, surrounded by shops, with a good well in the centre, and a stone built temple with a handsome carved doorway in one corner. In the main street are a first-class police-station and a town (*tahsíli*) school. There is also an imperial post-office.

Considerable trade passes through Báh from the towns of Gwáliár territory to the towns of the Doáb, and especially to Sarsaganj in the Mainpuri district. Bullocks and camels are employed in considerable numbers in this traffic, and Báh is rather a busy town, being much frequented as a halting-place. The

watch and ward of the town is provided for by taxation under Act XX. of 1856.

During 1881-82 the house-tax thereby imposed, together with a balance of Rs. 98 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs. 798. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police (Rs. 327), public works (Rs. 131), and conservancy (Rs. 150), amounted to Rs. 767. The returns showed 981 houses, of which 162 were assessed with the tax; the incidence being Rs. 4-5-1 per house assessed, and Re. 0-3-1 per head of population.

Tradition ascribes the origin of Báh to Kalyán Sinh, rája of Bhadáwar, who lived towards the close of the seventeenth century. He built a residence here, and a garden called after his own name, and is said to have given the name of Báh to the town from a 'stream' of water near the garden. Another rája, Bakht Sinh, founded the temple of Thákur Madangopál in the year 1752 A.D. The endowment bestowed by him is now commuted for an annual grant of Rs. 312 paid by the British Government. During the rule of the rájas of Bhadáwar, one of their *ámils* resided here and another at Panáhat. It gave its name to a parganah formed out of the old Hathkánt mahál, and had a tahsíldár here at the commencement of the British rule. Rája Bakht Sinh of Bhadáwar's possession of both Báh and Panáhat was interrupted by the Játs in 1768 A.D., and recovered by the rája from 1769 to 1784, when he lost it again to the Marhattas.

Bamroli Katára.—Agricultural village in the east of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 8 miles south-east from Agra; on the unmetalled road to Fatehabad. Latitude 27°-7′-35″; longitude 78°-9′-9″. Population (1881) 2,997 (1,440 females). It is said that this was once the north-west limit of the kingdom of Bhadáwar.

Barhan.—Agricultural town in the north of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 22½ miles north-east from Agra, and 12 miles north from I'timádpur; on the unmetalled road from Jalesar to 'Itimádpur *viâ* Agwar Khás. Latitude 27°-19′-49″; longitude 78°-14′-3″. Population (1881) 3,724 (1,695 females). It is a station on the East Indian Railway, and has an imperial post-office.

Basai.—Agricultural village in the north of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 3 miles south-east from Agra; adjoining the town of Tájganj. Latitude 27°-9′-55″; longitude 78°-5′-12″. Population (1881) 2,372 (1,190 females). Naharganj, where the Játs had a tahsíli, is included in Basai.

Batesar.—Agricultural village in the north of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 41 miles south-east from Agra, and 6 miles north-west of Báh; is situated on the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 26°-56′-22″; longitude 78°-35′-9″. Population (1881) 2,519 (1,225 females), chiefly Brahmans. Tradition assigns the origin of the village to the grandfather of Krishna, but the name given is

Súrajsen, not Surasen, and this is more properly connected with the ancient village of Súrajpur close by. Another derivation is from the word '*bat*,' Sanskrit *vata*, a sacred tree, near which was an image of Mahádeo under the title of Bateswarnáth, from which the village is named. Here are located a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office.

The importance of the place would seem to date from the time of Badan Sinh, rája of Bhadáwar, who lived about the beginning of the 17th century. He built a temple to Mahádeo, under the title of Bateswarnáth just mentioned. The cluster of temples on the bank of the Jumna form a crescent and are mostly in honor of Mahádeo under different names, but always represented by the *lingam*. One is dedicated to Thákur Nikunj Bihári, built by Rája Bakht Sinh in A.D. 1782; it receives Rs. 130 per annum from Government. A similar payment is made on account of the temple of Thákur Bihári, founded by Bakht Sinh's minister in A.D. 1773. The remains of a fort built high up in the ravine, and of a residence constructed by the rájas are still standing.

The one great commercial fair held in the district is that of Batesar; it begins about four or five days after the *diwáli*, comes to its climax at the full moon on the last day of Kártik (October-November), and continues on for 10 days or so in Aghan (November-December). The fair is in its origin a religious one. The great day is *púranmásí;* when the assembled pilgrims bathe in the Jumna, and make offerings in the temple of Bateswarnáth. The persons present on that day have been calculated (mainly by actual counting) to number 150,000 and this is probably an average attendance; this great crowd, however, does not last more than 24 hours, if so long. It is chiefly, however, as a horse-fair that the assemblage is known to Europeans; but cattle of all kinds and camels are also brought in large numbers for sale. The horses are the first to arrive and pour in up to three or four days before the bathing-day, when the market really opens and sales are effected. Directly after the bathing-day they begin to move off. The camels come into the fair later than the horses, and do not perhaps stay so long. The cattle market does not last for more than three or four principal days; the difficulty of providing fodder preventing a longer stay. The shops do not do much business until the day before the bathing-day, but on the bathing-day and that next succeeding it, an immense amount of business is carried on. The villagers take the opportunity to buy what they want in the way of wearing-apparel, brass and iron utensils, shoes, women's ornaments, &c.

Beri.—Agricultural village in the north of tahsíl Fatehabad; distant 22 miles south-east from Agra, and 4 miles north from Fatehábad; is situated on the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 27°-5′-10″; longitude 78°-20′-20″.

Population (1881) 251 (118 females), chiefly Thákurs and Banias. A weekly market is held on Tuesdays. The village was founded about 300 years ago by Beri Sinh, Thákur, and gave its name to the revenue-free (*muáfi*) estate known as *'ilaka* Beri, a perpetual grant (*altamgha*) conferred by Sháh A'lam on Munshi Chait Sinh, the hereditary spiritual guide (*pír murshid*) of the household of Daulat Rái Sindhia. The estate comprised 22 villages, of which 20 lay in parganah Ol of the Agra district and two in Muttra. This grant was confirmed by the British, and the grantee collected the revenue till the Mutiny. In 1856 there was a sub-settlement made with the old proprietors. From 1857 to 1861 the revenue was collected by Government, when, under the treaty with Sindhia, dated December 12, 1860, it obtained full possession. Some masonry buildings, including a residence built by the muáfidárs, still exist. The village has twice suffered pillage, once from the Marhattas and once during the Mutiny.

Berichábar or **Berichár.**—Agricultural town in the north of tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 16 miles south-west from Agra, and 9 miles north-north-east from Khairágarh; near the unmetalled road from Agra to Khairágarh. Latitude 27°-2′-36″; longitude 77°-55′-24″. Population (1881) 3,148 (1,486 females). It is a large and flourishing village, and has a good school. A weekly market is held here.

Bhandai—Agricultural village in the south-west of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 10 miles south-west from Agra. Latitude 27°-5′-6″; longitude 77°-58′-57″. Population (1881) 689 (320 females). It is a station on the Sindhia State Railway.

Bichpuri—Agricultural village in the west of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 6 miles west from Agra, on the metalled road from Agra to Bhartpur. Latitude 27°-10′-32″; longitude 77°-57′-32″. Population (1881) 808 (356 females). It has an imperial post-office, and is a station on the Rájputána State Railway.

Birthala.—Agricultural village in the south-east of tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 18 miles south from Agra, and 12 miles west-south-west from Khairágarh. Latitude 26°-55′-0″; longitude 78°-4′-8″. Population (1881) 2,079 (963 females). Tradition asserts that Indra held a festival (*jag*) here after killing the demon Birthisvar on a spot where there is now a holy pool (*kund*), to which numbers resort during the rains, especially at the festival of *janmashtami*, in Bhádon (August-September), and on the four Mondays in Baisákh (April-May). There is a temple dedicated to Mahádeo Lila Bilás close by, and a kind of leper asylum; it is popularly believed one leper is cured by the water every year.

Cháoli.—Agricultural town in the centre of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 14 miles north-east from Agra; and 8 miles north-west from I'timádpur; on the unmetalled road from Jalesar to I'timádpur *vid* Agwar Khás. Latitude 27°-17′0″; longitude 78°-12′-18″. Population (1881) 3,281 (1,467 females). It has a village school, and a small market.

Chhalesar.—Agricultural village in the south-west of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 6 miles north-east from Agra, and 8 miles west from I'timádpur; on the metalled road from Agra to I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-13′-30″; longitude 78°-8′-18″. Population (1881) 2,145 (994 females). This village was of some importance under the Mughals, a trace of whose rule remains in the ruined sarái known as Sarái Begam.

Dhimsiri.—Agricultural village in the centre of tahsíl Fatehabad; distant 16 miles south-east from Agra, and 8 miles west from Fatehabad; on the right bank of the Agra canal. Latitude 27°-1′-15″; longitude 78°-13′-50″. Population (1881) 2,990 (1,400 females).

Dhirpura.—Agricultural town in the south-east of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 24 miles east from Agra, and 10 miles south-east from I'timádpur; stands on the left or north bank of the Jumna. Latitude 27°-8′-40″; longitude 78°-19′-30″. Population (1881) 3,378 (1,569 females).

Duhuki.—Agricultural village in the north of tahsíl Fatehabad; distant 14 miles south-east from Agra, and 8 miles north-west from Fatehabad, on the unmetalled road from Agra to Fatehabad. Latitude 27°-4′-45″; longitude 78°-14′-10″. Population (1881) 1,535 (699 females). It has a second-class police-station and a district post-office.

Fatehabad.—Tahsíl in the south centre of the Agra district: is bounded on the north-east, east, and south-east by the Jumna and Utangan rivers, the former of which separates it from the I'timádpur and Firozabad tahsíls, and the latter from Panáhat tahsíl and the Dholpur native state; on the north-west by the Agra (Huzúr) tahsíl; and on the south-west by the Khári stream, which separates it from the Khairágarh tahsíl. Except, therefore, on the north-west, for a distance of about 15 miles, it has natural boundaries in the rivers just mentioned. In shape the parganah is very irregular; its extreme breadth from east to west is about 29½ miles, and extreme length from north to south 12 miles. The total area in 1881-82 was 241·3 square miles, of which 163·0 were cultivated, 31·3 cultivable, and 47·0 barren. The area paying Government revenue or quit-rent was 240·0 square miles (163·0 cultivated, 31·0 cultivable, 46·0 barren). The amount of payment to Government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (includ-

Boundaries, area, &c.

ing, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates), was Rs. 2,51,309; or, with local rates and cesses, Rs. 2,81,466. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 4,29,999.

Population.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 161 inhabited villages: of which 21 had less than 200 inhabitants; 60 between 200 and 500; 54 between 500 and 1,000; 20 between 1,000 and 2,000; 5 between 2,000 and 3,000; and 1 between 3,000 and 5,000. There were no towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants. The total population was 104,762 (47,927 females), giving a density of 434 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 97,513 Hindus (44,487 females); 5,962 Musalmáns (2,874 females); 1,244 Jains (559 females); 8 Christians (5 females); and 5 others (2 females).

Physical features.

In its main features this parganah resembles its eastern neighbour Panáhat. It lies between two rivers, and there is a large ravine area with a considerable amount of low-lying land under the ravines. As in most tracts similarly situated, a belt of sandy soil runs along the upper edges of the ravines, parallel with both the river lines. But the soil gradually changes as the higher lands are approached, and the great bulk of the upland area is a good loam, light in places, but of average fertility. Two comparatively small tracts differ in character from the rest of the upland area. Both are depressions in the soil of varying width. One, in the north-west of the parganah, crosses the road between Duhuki and Kolári; the other enters the parganah in the south-west at Achhnera, and is traceable along a remarkably irregular course to the large village Nabohra, where it meets the Utangan near the point of contact of the three parganahs of Rája Khera, Báh Panáhat, and Fatehabad. The former depression is evidently the bed of an ancient arm or *sota* of the Jumna; and, though there can have been no water in it for centuries, it still preserves something of the character of recent alluvial land. Water is very near the surface, and the crops are exceptionally heavy, while sugarcane is grown on it with great success. The other depression is more marked in character, and can be traced throughout the whole district, from the Bhartpur boundary through the western tahsíls to Irádatnagar, and thence to this parganah, in which it ends its course. It is clearly the bed of an old, though as far as can at present be discovered, nameless river; in Fatehabad it is known as the *nahr* or natural 'canal.' Near its mouth ravines of some depth have been formed on each side; but higher up the banks are low and sloping, sometimes composed of hard *kankar* soil, sometimes of sand. The fertility of the

The uplands.

bed varies. As in the other tracts, water is near the surface, and where irrigated, the soil is very productive. But where the fields are left dry, produce is no better than in the higher lands. The remains of boats are still occasionally found a few feet below the surface of the bed.

Ravines.

North-west of the Jumna ravines begin in the neck of a bend in the river, and become deeper and broader as the stream flows east, gradually rivalling in depth and extent those of parganahs Timádpur and Firozabad, on the other side of the river. Those of the Utangan are very uniform throughout, and are similar in character to the ravines of the same river in Panáhat. In some places they branch out far into the heart of the parganah, and on and about them is a considerable amount of the unoven and sandy soil called *pákar*. To the east the ravines of both rivers unite, and the country for miles around is broken and irregular.

Kachhár.

The alluvial soils are much mixed with sand, and the inferior classes largely predominate. Neither the Utangan nor the Jumna rise like the Chambal, nor, when they do overflow the lower levels, do their waters possess the fertilizing properties of that river.

Irrigation.

In one important respect this parganah differs greatly from Báh-Panáhat, and that is in the prevalence of irrigation. Water is 50 or 60 feet from the surface; but wells are easily and cheaply made, and irrigation is the rule, not the exception. The main channel of the Agra canal passes right across the tahsíl, from west to east by south, and empties itself in the Utangan river near the village of Bihari, three miles east of Nibohra. Two of its distributaries also water the south-west of the tahsíl.

Communications.

The metalled Agra and Bombay road crosses the tahsíl in the extreme west, but its length in the tahsíl is only two miles. Three unmetalled roads pass from Agra through the tahsíl, the first through Fatehabad and Báh to Etáwah, the second through Shamsabad and across the Utangan river into the Dholpur State to Rája Khera, and the third through the west of the tahsíl to Irádatnagar, across the Khári stream. At Fatehabad the first of these is crossed by the road from Firozabad, which is continued through this tahsíl to Khairágarh and on to Jagner and the quarries at Tántpur; it crosses the second of these roads at Shamsabad. Agra is the market of the tahsíl.

Towns and markets.

Fatehabad is the only town in the tahsíl of any size or importance, Shamsabad being rather an aggregation of villages than a town. Nor are there any markets of note. One is

held on Sundays and Thursdays in Fatehabad; another on Tuesdays and Thursdays in Shamsabad; and others in a few villages elsewhere once a week. The first is a cattle market. Numerous small fairs are held on various dates at various villages; five of these being at Fatehabad itself; but the trade at these is also on a very small scale. Agricultural produce is the main article of export, but country shoes and cloth are largely made for home consumption.

Fiscal history.

Owing to the recent changes in the constitution of this tahsíl it is impossible to give a connected account of its fiscal history. In 1878 the north-west section (15 villages) of the old Fatehabad tahsíl was transferred to the Agra (Huzúr) tahsíl, and the north-eastern half of Irádatnagar (55 villages) to Fatehabad. Neither Irádatnagar nor Fatehabad is mentioned by name in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, but the town of Fatehabad, known then as Zafarnagar, and the adjacent country, were included in the Haveli of Agra, and formed part of the *tappa* of Shamsabad, which also comprised part of the abolished Irádatnagar tahsíl. After the conquest in 1803 both parganahs were included in the Agra district, as constituted by Regulations IX. of 1804 and VIII. of 1805. Before that event both parganahs had been under the immediate management of Colonel Hessing. The current assessment shows an increase of about 8 per cent. on the final demand of the previous settlement in those portions of the tahsíl that were formerly included in Fatehabad and Irádatnagar. Of the earlier settlements there is little reliable information available.

Fatehabad.—Chief town of the tahsíl of the same name; situated in the centre of the eastern half of the tahsíl; distant 21 miles south-east from Agra. Latitude 27°-1′-30″; longitude 78°-20′-30″. Population (1881) 4,441 (2,371 females). Besides the *tahsíli*, there is a *munsif*, a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, a tahsíli school, and two girls' schools. There is very little trade in Fatehabad. A small bi-weekly market is held on Sundays and Thursdays. The watch and ward of the town is provided for by taxation under Act XX. of 1856.

During 1881-82 the house-tax thereby imposed, together with a balance of Rs. 137 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs. 1,071. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police (Rs. 481), public works (Rs. 148), and conservancy (Rs. 210), amounted to Rs. 1,004. The returns showed 1,882 houses, of which 410 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Rs. 2-4-5 per house assessed, and Re. 0-3-4 per head of population

Fatehabad was originally named Zafrnagar, and it formed a part of tappá Shamsabad in mahál Haveli Agra. Its name was, it is said, changed to Fatehabad by Aurangzeb, after his victory over his brother Dárá-shikoh at Samogar in 1658 A.D., *supra*, p. 610. He built a mosque on the spot on

which he rested after his victory, and called it Mubárak Manzil; it was till lately used as the custom-house. He also constructed a *sarái* and a tank, and planted a large grove to the south-east of the town [*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., 195, and *Suppl. Gloss.*, II., 87]. Both the Marhattas and the Játs had tahsílís here. The present tahsílí is situated in the *sarái*, to which two square towers with gabled roofs were added by the Marhatta chief, Ráo Dúnde, during his occupation of the district. The tank has nearly silted up and only two of the kiosks that adorned it now remain. The grove still remains in tolerable preservation.

Fatehpur Síkri. (*Fathpur Síkri*).[1]—Municipal town and head-quarters of the Kiráolí (or Fatehpur-Síkri) tahsíl, and a former capital of the Mughal Empire; distant 23 miles west-south-west from Agra, and 10 miles south-west from Kiráoli. Latitude 27°-5′-38″; longitude 77°-42′-17″. The town is connected with Agra by a metalled road, passing through Kiráoli, and this road is continued in the direction of Nasírabad, but is not metalled beyond Fatehpur Síkri. It is also connected by road with Achhnera, the nearest railway station, at a distance of 11 miles. In 1865 the population of Fatehpur alone was returned at 6,079, and in 1872 at 6,878; including Síkri it was 8,636 and 8,505. By the census of 1881 the area of the town site was 332 acres, with a total population of 6,243 (3,032 females), giving a density of 18 to the acre. The Hindus numbered 3,536 (1,671 females), and the Musalmáns 2,706 (1,361 females). The census of Síkri was taken separately in 1881 and returned at 2,508 (1,195 females).

Position, area, and population

The modern town of Fatehpur lies to the south-west of the ruins and palaces, and the village of Síkri to the north-east, but both are within the old boundary wall built by Akbar, which has a circumference of about seven miles. "The site of Fatehpur Síkri," writes Dr. Planck, "may be described as an oblong, measuring a mile in length and three-fourths of a mile in width. Its northern margin is bounded by a wide sandstone ridge from one to two hundred feet in height, its remainder is bounded on all sides by a battlemented stone wall 20 feet high, pierced by 10 or 12 gateways. The wall with its towers stands up bravely, but ruinous parts threaten a speedy downfall. The buildings of the court which now remain, occupy the ridge, with Salím Chishti's tomb in the place of honor at the highest

Site and appearance.

[1] This notice has been compiled from notes by Mr. T. Benson, C.S., a report by Dr Planck, Sanitary Commissioner, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and such printed works as Mr Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, the late Professor Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, and Mr. H. G. Keene's *Hand-Book to Agra*. For the plan annexed the editor is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. E. Heath, Executive Engineer, Archæological Department, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

point, but evidences are not wanting to show that formerly the wide, fairly-level expanse enclosed by the wall was laid out in gardens containing pleasant garden-houses, of which only traces remain. The modern town of Fatehpur Síkri occupies the western end only of this large enclosure, on the level below the ridge, and partly on the ridge, where the houses rise up to meet the great flight of steps leading to Salím Chishti's *dargáh*, which overshadows the town. It is a stone-built town, for stone is the cheapest building material of the place, but the houses are not worthy of the material, being, as a rule, low and mean looking.

"The town is reached from the principal gateway on the eastern side by a long open road which passes through the centre of the town, forming its principal bázár road, and is continued for a short distance to a gateway to the west, for the town is pretty close to the wall on that side. This roadway, where it passes from the eastern gate through the open land to reach the town, is altogether unmade and undrained, and presents the appearance of a straight track of sand in which angular pieces of stone are hidden, and as this is the way by which all the traffic to and from the Agra city passes, the state of this half mile of roadway must be a cause of great inconvenience to the people and of suffering to many beasts of burden. Where the road passes through the town, a very great improvement appears, for the greater part of it has been paved with well-cut blocks of stone, and when the paving is completed, there will be a durable contreway well-drained on both sides. The bázár is long, straight and fairly-wide, and will be immeasurably improved by this paving."

The above description was written some years ago, and the notice that follows, but is not here quoted, regarding the then neglected state of the town in matters of conservancy and drainage would scarcely apply at the present time. The modern public buildings are a police-station (second-class), well placed in the centre of the town, an imperial post-office, a second class dispensary, and a *tahsíli* school. There is also a *dák* bungalow, a part of the old palaces—that formerly occupied as the Emperor's record office, according to some authorities—having been converted to that purpose, while other portions of the palace buildings are available for occupation by visitors on permission given by the collector. For native travellers the old *saráí*, beneath Salím Chishti's *dargáh*, is, although sadly changed in appearance from what it was in Akbar's time, a commodious resting-place. All the wells actually in the town contain brackish water, but on the east and west sides are two old wells, known as the Ikrám Bágh and Hakím's well, from which sweet water is obtainable. The health of the town is pronounced good.

Manufactures.

Abul Fazl mentions, in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (see Blochmann's translation, p. 88), Fatehpur among the principal places in the Mughal empire, in 1596, where hair-weaving and silk-spinning were carried on; "the figures and patterns, knots and variety of fashions which now prevail," he writes, "astonish experienced travellers." Special mention is made in the same work (p. 223) of the stone-mason's craft, in connection with Fatehpur Síkri. Red sandstone from the hills there cost then three dáms (of which 40 went to the rupee) per maund. "Clever workmen chisel it so skilfully, as no turner could do with wood; and their works vie with the picture-book of *Mání* [the great painter of the Sassanides]"—nor will the modern visitor to Fatehpur Síkri think the eulogium extravagant. But, in these degenerate times, the weaving of a few cotton carpets of the coarse and cheap kind, and the fashioning of rude mill-stones are the only manufactures of the place.

Trade.

Its trade, too, must have been considerable when Abul Fazl wrote, although, as Fatehpur had ceased to be the capital in 1586, ten years earlier than the compilation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, it had, doubtless, even then begun to decline. The grand *sarái* already mentioned was, in the days of its courtly magnificence, the rendezvous of merchants from probably all the then known parts of the globe, certainly Europe was well represented as the lists of commodities bought and sold serve to show. But, as with manufactures so with trade, scarcely the shadow of the past grandeur remains. The chief imports into the municipality according to the official statement, with the quantity or value imported in 1881-82, were as follows: grain (81,215 maunds); refined sugar (1,298 maunds); unrefined sugar (3,596 maunds); *ghi* (335 maunds); animals for slaughter (3,658 head); oil and oilseeds (142 maunds); drugs and spices (Rs. 8,567); tobacco (523 maunds); cloth (Rs. 42,537); and metals (Rs. 1,481).

Municipality.

The municipality of Fatehpur Síkri was established in 1866; the committee consists of nine members, of whom three sit by virtue of their office and the remainder by nomination. The income of the municipality is derived chiefly from an octroi tax falling in 1881-82 at the rate of Re. 0-8-8 on net receipts per head of population. The total income in 1881-82 was Rs. 5,426 (including a balance of Rs. 1,242 from the previous year). The total expenditure in the same year was Rs. 4,320, the chief item of which was original works (Rs. 1,764).

The palaces and *dargáh*.

We may now turn our attention to the ruins of Akbar's capital, for Fatehpur was so distinguished during the 15 years from 1571 to 1586 A.D. The circumstances to which

it owed its selection as the royal residence have been sketched in the district notice (*supra*, page 594), and may be briefly referred to the birth here of Prince Salím, afterwards the Emperor Jahángír, as the result, it was believed, of the Saint Salím Chishti's spiritual exertions. If the account given in the *Tarikh-i-Badáyúní* (*Elliot*, V., 499) is correct, the palace at Fatehpur was completed in 979 H. or 1571 A.D., while it was only in 1570 that it and the city wall were commenced. The great mosque bears an inscription giving the same year (1571), but it may not have been finished for some time afterwards. The white marble tomb bears a date ten years later, 1581. It is certain that no building went on after 1586, so that the short space of 15 years saw the whole magnificent file constructed, and most of the buildings were doubtless built during the early years of that period. The design appears to have been to build a large city here, a design never carried out owing to imperial caprice having so soon changed the royal residence to other places, for the space included within the boundary wall measures 3,386 yards by 1,585 yards, or about 2 miles by 7 furlongs. The gateways, beginning from the north-east bear the following names: the Dehli, Lál, Agra, Súrajpál, Chandanpál, Gwáliar, Tehira, and Ajmír. The precipitous face of the ridge to the north-west formed a natural boundary, and in part the palace buildings must have formed a protection. At the time when this new city was founded there was no town where the present one of Fatehpur stands; the town or village then existing was where the present one of Síkri is. Akbar's capital is generally alluded to in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and is also usually mentioned in the histories by the name 'Fathpur' only. The better opinion seems to be that Akbar gave this name simply to the city he founded, and this has the support of Firishta (Brigg's translation II., 234), who wrote—"the king [Akbar] considering the village of Síkri a particularly propitious spot, two of his sons having been born there, he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid, which, after the conquest of Guzarát, he called Fathpur." This is more probable than the supposition that the name of Síkri was changed to Fathpur by Bábar, in commemoration of his victory there in 1527 (see Thornton's *Gazetteer*, *s.v.*).

Dargáh of Salím Chishti.

Passing now to the buildings themselves, as they at present appear, and supposing the visitor to enter the enclosure at the Tehira gate on the south-west and to pass through the modern town of Fatehpur, the first of the buildings to be reached would be the *dargáh* or tomb and the mosque adjoining it, in the same enclosure, both of which bear the name of Salim Chishti. The entrance to this enclosure is by a lofty gateway, the Buland Darwáza, reached from the foot of the hill

by a long flight of steps, and raised 130 feet above the plateau on the edge of which it stands. Mr. Fergusson (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, page 579) has given an eloquent description of this mosque, remarking that it is "hardly surpassed by any in India." The plan he has given is on a larger scale than the size of the accompanying plan (in which all the principal buildings are shown) permitted, but the plan we give may be taken as fairly correct. Deferring the description of the great gateway, we may notice first the interior and its buildings. The measurements of the enclosure, according to Mr. Fergusson, are 550 feet east and west by 470 feet north and south over all; according to Mr. Keene the quadrangle or court of the *dargáh* is 433 feet by 366 feet (not 440 by 350 as given by Mr. Fergusson). The mosque, which occupies the west side of the court and is crowned by three domes, is, according to Mr. Fergusson, 290 feet by 80 feet. Mr. Keene thus describes this building (*Handbook*, pp. 49-50): "Upon the main arch is a chronogram, 'this mosque is the duplicate of the Holy place,' which, being interpreted, gives the Hijri date 979 = A.D. 1571. The wings of the mosque are of red stone with lofty square pillars, in the prevailing Hinduised fashion of the place and time; but the centre is a vast vaulted place of assembly, paved with white marble, and painted about in white and delicate tints in a variety of geometric patterns."

Behind the mosque is the tomb of an infant alleged by tradition to have been the still-born child of Akbar, for which the saint substituted one who became Prince Salím. Near this is a door purporting to lead to the cave where the saint originally lived, and the small mosque said to have been built for him by the stonecutters, with other objects of legendary interest. Returning to the courtyard, there are, to the left of the mosque, two tombs; that of Salím Chishti, "wholly in white marble, and the windows with pierced tracery of the most exquisite geometrical patterns—flowing tracery is a later invention. It possesses, besides, a deep cornice of marble supported by brackets of the most elaborate design, so much so, indeed, as to be almost fantastic—the only approach to bad taste in the place; the other tomb, that of Islám Khán, is soberer and in excellent taste, but quite eclipsed by its surroundings." (*Hist. of Ind. and Eastern Arch.*, page 580.) Inside, according to Mr. Keene, the tomb of Salím Chishti is of marble only for about four feet from the floor; "at this point occurs a sort of dado, the walls above being wainscoted with red sandstone. All the panels are covered with flowers painted in a somewhat tawdry style by order of Mr. Mansell, who was collector of Agra about 1836; but the old paintings are said to have been merely restored

or reproduced. Over the remains of the saint is a sort of bedstead encrusted with fine mother-o'-pearl work, and the nacreous sheen is particularly pleasing in the half-light of the mortuary chamber." An inscription on the inner wall gives the date 988 Hijri (1581 A.D.). The tombs of the women are in the centre of the north side of the court. The Islám Khán referred to in the quotation from Mr. Fergusson was governor of Bengal in the reign of Jahángír, and a grandson of the saint.

Buland Darwáza.

It remains to notice the great northern gateway, which Mr. Fergusson regards as "noble beyond that of any portal attached to any mosque in India, perhaps in the whole world." From an inscription upon the sandstone, on the left hand as you enter the gateway from the quadrangle, is an inscription in bold relief, of which the following account is given by Mr. Keene (p. 48):—

"'His Majesty, King of Kings, Heaven of the Court, Shadow of God, Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad Khán, the Emperor. He conquered the kingdom of the south, and Dán Des, which was formerly called Khán Des, in the divine year 46th' (*e.g.*, of his accession) 'corresponding to the Hijri year 1010. Having reached Fatehpur he proceeded to Agra.' Then follow the usual fulsome praises, and then a sudden modulation into the minor key, in the shape of a passage from the Arabic *Hadís*, or 'sacred traditions,' in the true spirit of the slave on the Roman car: 'Saul Jesus, on whom be peace! The world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house there: he who hopeth for an hour, may hope for an eternity: the world is but an hour, spend it in devotion: the rest is unseen.' On the opposite side another carved sentence tells us that *work* is *worship*. 'He that standeth up to pray, and his heart is not in his duty, the same exalteth not himself, remaining far from God. Thy best possession is what thou hast given in alms: thy best traffic is selling this world for the next, &c.' This inscription closes with a line that is a little obscure, but may be thus paraphrased, and is a pleasant specimen of a Persian conceit. 'Know that the world is a glass where the favour has come and is gone, take as thine own nothing more than what thou lookest upon.' This whole set of inscriptions is valuable as a trait of character; the Emperor probably devised, or sanctioned, the idea. He died about four years after the date recorded in that first cited; and perhaps, as his clouded end approached, he may have been led to ponder on the folly of building so many 'houses,' and forming such vast plans in such a transitory existence. A bridge, like that of Lucerne, decorated with the dance of death."

Numbers of women, both Hindu and Muhammadan, resort to the tomb of Salím Chishti to implore the intercession of the saint in their favour when childless. Similarly, the doors of the great gateway are studded with horse-shoes, nailed on by the owners of sick horses, who seek the intervention of the saint for their recovery.

The houses of Abul Fazl and Faizi.

Leaving the mosque and tomb, we turn to the secular buildings. To the north of the Dargáh we come upon the houses of Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi, Akbar's most intimate friends and followers of his new religion, the *Tauhíd-i-Iláhí*, or the Divine mono-

theism. [For a learned account of the creed see Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 167-213.] Beyond the association with these famous names there is nothing of special interest in these buildings, and they now serve the humble purpose of lodging a boys' school.

Jodh Bái Mahal.

To the east of these is the principal palace, called by the guides the Jahángíri Mahal or Jodh Bái Mahal, the latter more usually, although with less reason. The idea that Akbar had a wife named Jodh Bái, who was the mother of Jahángír, seems to have been entertained at one time by so high an authority as the late Professor Blochmann (*see* his translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 309). But there can be no reasonable doubt that Jodh Bái was the wife, and not the mother, of Jahángír. She was the daughter of Moth, rája of Jodhpur. Jahángír's mother was in all probability the daughter of Rája Bihárí Mal, a Kachhwáha Rájput, and sister of Rája Bhagwán Dás. The proper name of this lady is not known, but her title is given as *Mariam-uz-Zamání*, "the Mary of the Age," the origin probably of the myth regarding Akbar's supposed Christian wife. The palace thus wrongly attributed to Jodh Bái may have been, and probably was, the residence of his *zanána* or some portion of it. Of Akbar's many wives, the names of seven have been collected from the Muhammadan historians, by the late Professor Blochmann; of these the chief was Sultána Rukia, and it may be that (as supposed by Mr. Keene) this palace was especially appropriated to her, but the probabilities are in favour of the view that makes it the abode of a Hindu princess, possibly the mother of Jahángír (but not Jodh Bái). The palace consists of a series of apartments, some in two and some in three stories, roofed with sloping slabs covered with blue enamel, and occupying the north and south sides of a large quadrangular court-yard (177 ft. by 157 ft). The remaining sides are closed in by a continuous gallery. Hindu ornaments prevail in the carvings, and fragments of an idol have, it is said, been found here. The building itself has one main entrance on the east, a lofty and richly-carved gate, so placed as to bar all view from the outside, but it also has a passage, supported on arches, leading from the upper story on the north, and carried, with screen walls on either side and a canopy over-head, down the north side of the hill to where apparently terraces, now no longer existing, overlooked the plain. This building was at one time, during British occupation, used as a tahsíli, and the injuries it sustained are but too apparent.

Relative positions of the other principal buildings.

Leaving the palace just described by the principal gateway, the visitor steps upon a terrace paved with sandstone flags, and (writes Mr. Keene) formerly enclosed by a colonnade.

On this terrace stand the buildings known to the guides as Bírbal's house, the Christian wife's house, and the Khás Mahal, or "private chambers." In another court, but in the same neighbourhood, is a reservoir of water crossed by four causeways meeting in the centre. On the south of the Khás Mahal, close to this reservoir, is the Khwábgáh, lit. 'Sleeping place,' supposed to have been used during the day by the emperor and the more intimate male members of his family, on the top of which is pointed out a small and severely simple chamber which, it is said, Akbar himself used as a sleeping apartment during the heat of mid-day. Behind the palace known as Bírbal's is the stable-yard. Some further description of these buildings may not be out of place.

Bírbal's house.

Bírbal's house, or (as Mr. Keene says) more probably that of his daughter, is a beautiful carved square building of red sandstone, two stories high, having four chambers in the upper, which are said to have been occupied by the daughter of Akbar's general, Rája Bírbal. Mr. Keene thus describes the building, and the truth of the description will doubtless be acknowledged by the visitor:—"Nothing can exceed the massiveness of the material, excepting the minuteness of the finish. It seems as if a Chinese ivory-worker had been employed upon a Cyclopean monument. Each of the four rooms of the lower floor is but 15 feet square, and each is ceiled with slabs of 15 feet in length by one in breadth. Not a stick of timber is used in any part. These ceilings rest upon bold cornices supported by deeply-arched pendentives. The rooms in the upper story are of the same size, but crowned by massive domes, got by placing a capstone upon 16 sloping slabs, each of which stands upon an abutment, the whole supported on eight sides, rising from the four walls of the room." Mr. Fergusson (p. 578) writes in the same strain of deserved eulogy of this and the other two pavilions (Mariam's house and the Turkish wife's or Rúmí Sultána's house) to be presently noticed. He says "they are small, but it is impossible to conceive anything so picturesque in outline, or any building carved and ornamented to such an extent, without the smallest approach to being overdone or in bad taste." A cast of two of the pillars of the Turkish wife's house has been placed in the South Kensington Museum, and an exquisite engraving of these is given in Mr. Fergusson's work (p. 579). No verbal description could convey an adequate idea of their character and beauty.

Christian lady's house.

The house pointed out as that of Akbar's Christian wife is a living embodiment of what some authorities regard as a myth. There is nothing, indeed, but that unsafe guide, tradition, to support the story that Akbar had a Christian wife. It is strange that

Abul Fazl, that minute chronicler of his royal patron's ways, should have omitted mention of so unusual a circumstance had it been a fact. The tradition has probably no firmer basis than the title of Jahángír's mother, *Mariam-uz-Zamání*, but she, as already mentioned, was almost certainly a Hindu princess. The house is in good preservation, but the frescoes, which tradition says represented scenes from Firdúsí's poem, the *Shah-náma*, have faded beyond hope of restoration. The proper name of the house was doubtless *Sunahra Makán*, or the "golden house," a name given to it from the profuse gilding and painting with which it was adorned. It is not improbable that it was really the residence of that Hindu wife of Akbar, of whom history records that she was the mother of Jahángír, and was known by the title "Mary of the Age." Her tomb is said to be the one at Sikandra, known as Rauza Mariam, and to have been erected by Jahángír.

Khás Mahal.

The Khás Mahal is a flagged courtyard, measuring, according to Mr. Keene, 210 feet by 120 feet, of which the south side is formed by the buildings underneath the Khwábgáh. These measurements differ from those given by Mr. Fergusson, who speaks of it as a "square block of building, measuring about 260 feet each way, of about the same dimensions as the Red Palace in the Fort at Agra." He refers to the courtyard as a separate part of the palace, giving its dimensions as about 170 feet each way. It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Keene and Mr. Fergusson refer to different parts of the same neighbourhood under the name "Khás Mahal," and the plan prepared in the Archæological Department does not enable us to reconcile the discrepancy.

Akbar's Turkish wife's apartments

On the west angle of the Khás Mahal is a building called the girls' or Jahángír's school, and from it run the remains of a screen wall leading due east to the opposite angle where the guides point out the apartments of Akbar's Turkish wife (*Rúmí Begam ká Mahal*). It should be stated that, beyond tradition, there is no authority for the statement that Akbar had a Turkish, any more than a Christian, wife. In the Khusrú Bágh at Allahabad is a tomb said to be that of the *Tamboli begam*, which, Mr. Keene thinks, may have been corrupted into *Stambúli*, and thus have given rise to the myth. "Most artistic," writes Mr. Keene, "are the carvings with which this dwelling is decorated. Under the wainscoting of the walls is a sort of plinth, about four feet high, of the most curious fashion. On one panel is to be seen a forest view from the Himálayas, pheasants perch upon the boughs, and tigers stalk through the jungle with their tails brandished; on another the conventional willow of China nods to sprawling dragons; a third

has palm trees; and a fourth, grape vines and fruit trees in full bearing. The outside pillars have in some instances curious trees and bold flower-curves climbing them, of a much more realistic type than is common in Eastern art."

Stables.

At the back of Birbal's house is a magnificent stable-yard with 51 stables, each for two horses, in which mangers and rope rings, all of stone, are still existing. North-west of the Khás Mahal is a garden with a small mosque, probably for the use of the *zanána*, and a gallery, described as the hospital, bounds it to the north. To the east of it is the Panj Mahal, a five-fold succession of canopies or platforms, each smaller than the one beneath, supported on rows of columns. The uppermost platform is exceedingly small, and the columns diminish in number, from fifty-four supporting the ground-floor to four supporting the topmost story. The carving of these pillars is noticeable for the variety of subjects represented.

Zanána mosque.

Panj Mahal.

Pachísi-board.

North-east of the Panj and Khás Mahals is an open court in which is the *Pachísi*-board, laid out in black and white squares in the red sandstone pavement, where the emperor and his nobles played with slave girls as pieces. North of this is the Ánkh Michauli which, Mr. Keene suggests, was a treasury, and the Díwán-i-Khás or 'chamber of privy council,' a curiously-constructed building having in the centre a pillar with an immense capital, from which four stone causeways lead to the four corners of the room. Mr. Fergusson calls it "a throne consisting of an enormous flower-like bracket, supported on a richly carved pillar, a peristylar building, very similar to the one Akbar erected at Allahabad." Close to the Ánkh Michauli is a small platform shaded by a canopy on four pillars in Jain architecture, where, according to tradition, sat a Hindu teacher (*guru*) tolerated by Akbar. By a colonnade, now partly destroyed, the emperor passed from the Diwán-i-Khás to the Díwán-i-Ám, a small hall with a deep verandah looking upon a large oblong court-yard, surrounded by open cloisters for the accommodation of suitors, as its name indicates. This was, doubtless, the imperial court of justice, held partly in the open air, after the fashion of similar halls at Agra and Dehli. To the north-east of the Díwán-i-Ám is a large quadrangular building known as the Mint. It is a kind of outwork or barbican with a large number of dark vaults and a hall, described as the hall of account. There is no confirmation of the tradition, and Fatehpur is not included in the list of Akbar's mints (see Thomas's *Pathán Kings of Dehli*, p. 427).

Ánkh Michauli and Díwán-i-Khás.

Díwán-i-Ám.

The Mint.

The remaining objects of interest lie at some distance to the west under the higher parts of the rock from those just described. Among them may be mentioned the water works, by which the water of the lake (to be presently referred to) was supplied to all parts of the palace by means of a series of Persian wheels and a system of reservoirs. The Háthi Pol, or 'elephant gate' (compounded apparently of a Hindi and a Greek word) is a massive structure. About 20 feet from the ground the spandrels of the main arch are flanked on each side by a colossal elephant; their trunks, interlaced as in the act of fighting, once, according to tradition, surmounted the keystone of the arch, but Aurangzeb is said to have removed the heads. The Sangín Burj, a grand bastion, adjoins this gateway; it is said to have been the commencement of the fortifications begun by Akbar, but discontinued in deference to objections raised by the saintly Salím Chishti. Below the Háthi Pol is the Hiran Mínár, *lit.* the 'antelope tower,' about 70 feet in height, studded with imitations, in some kind of composition, of elephant's tusks, from which circumstance it is often called the 'elephant tower.' It was, doubtless, intended as a place from which to fire at game that were driven up to the tower from the level country beyond. The large caravanserai, called the Káshmír Saráí, lies between the Sangín Burj or 'grand bastion' and the elephant tower.

Háthi Pol, or 'elephant gate.'

Sangín Burj.

Hiran Mínár or elephant tower.

Allusion has been made above to the lake that existed in Akbar's time, and furnished the palaces, baths, and gardens with abundant supplies of water. Outside the ruins and to the north of the hills, on which they stand, is the ruined embankment, running from Nagar Ghátí in a semi-circle across the valley to Rasúlpur on the north-west, where it met another range of hills, and acted as a dam enclosing the waters of the Kharí stream or torrent. There was thus formed a large lake, probably about two miles in width by six or more in length.

The lake.

Beyond the brief period of Akbar's occupation, regarding which sufficient has been said above and in the sketch of the district history, Fatehpur Síkri has no local history worth recording. Mention has already been made of the existence here of a *tahsíli*, in British times, and it remained as late as till 1850, when it was removed, on the ground of unhealthiness, owing to the irrigation works then in progress, to Kiráoli; the Játs and Marhattas also had *tahsílis* here. During the Mutiny a brief interest attached to the town owing to its occupation by the Nimach and Nasírabad rebels on two occasions between July and October, 1857. They were dispossessed in the latter month by a small force led by Cotton.

Local history.

Firozábad.—The more easterly of the two trans-Jumna or Doáb tahsíls of the district: is bounded on the east by parganahs Mustafabad and Shikhoabad of Mainpuri; on the south by the river Jumna, dividing it from parganah Fatehábád, down to the point where it receives the Utangan river, and where parganah Panáhat begins; on the west by parganah Timáhpur; and on the north by parganah Jalesar. The total area in 1881-82 was 203·1 square miles, of which 140·1 were cultivated, 16·0 cultivable, and 47·0 barren. The area paying government revenue or quit-rent was 202·1 square miles (140·1 cultivated, 16·0 cultivable, 46·0 barren). The amount of payment to government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rate) was Rs. 2,24,503; or, with local-rates and cesses, Rs. 2,51,446. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 4,23,078.

Boundaries, area, &c.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 185 inhabited villages: of which 49 had less than 200 inhabitants; 81 between 200 and 500; 32 between 500 and 1,000; 20 between 1,000 and 2,000; and 2 between 2,000 and 3,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Firozabad (16,023). The total population was 108,521 (49,234 females), giving a density of 534 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 97,284 Hindus (43,900 females); 8,826 Musalmáns (4,193 females); 2,407 Jains (758 females); 1 Christian (male); and 3 others (all males).

Population.

In shape the parganah is an irregular parallelogram, having its length from north to south, with a prolongation to the south-east. Nowhere is the parganah more than 11 miles in width, and in some places it is as little as 6. Twenty miles will probably represent the average length, the extreme from Rámnagar on the north-north-west to Datauli at the south-south-east corner being 26 miles. The tahsíli town of Firozábád is in a fairly central position, being about 13 miles from the northern boundary, and 12 from the extreme south-south-west corner.

Physical features.

With the exception of the Jumna ravines, there are no remarkable physical features varying the general aspect of the country, which is that of a level, cultivated plain. Extensive ravines skirt the Jumna along the whole of its course, some of the principal ones extending far inland. Although skirting the south-south-west side of the parganah for a length, in a direct line, of about 13 miles only (about 30 by the course of the river), the Jumna gives a ravine area of about 34 square miles, or 16·7 per cent. of the whole area of the

parganah. Of this a very large proportion is unculturable waste, in many parts quite bare. Large quantities of *múnj* grass, however, grow in the ravines south of Firozabad town, especially in the peninsula occupied by the villages of Usmánpur, Shankarpur, and part of Chandwár. More to the east for a distance of four miles or upwards through Mandwa, Basai, Karkoli, and Pilua, there is a considerable growth of jungle wood (*chhonkar, remja, pilua, &c*). But the ravines are, as a rule, bare and unproductive, and singularly devoid even of wild animal life. The patches of cultivation scattered in the 34 square miles amount only to about 27 per cent. of the whole. The ravine cliffs, too, mostly extend to the water's edge, leaving but little *khadar*.

Of the upper level country, only 14 per cent. is unculturable waste. There are a few *usar* plains scattered here and there, more especially northwards, and in places strips and patches of *dhák* jungle, which appears at some time to have occupied a large area. There are also a few sandy ridges of slight elevation, but nowhere very marked.

Rivers.

The most striking natural features are the rivers, or rather rain streams, of which there are two, the Sirsa and the Sengar. The Sirsa (generally misnamed Sendar) entering the parganah from Jalesar in the village of Kátki (misspelt Kathi in map), to the north-west, traverses it in a south-easterly direction for a distance of about twelve miles in a straight line, passing into the Mainpuri district on the east of the village of Nepai; in its course it receives a small tributary stream from the west at Asán, bringing the drainage of some low-lying lands to the north of parganah Timádpur. During the upper part of its course the Sirsa is nearly level with the adjoining country, and, consequently, there is a good deal of slightly marshy land or land subject to inundation along its course; but lower down it lies deeper in its bed, with sloping banks. The stream is a mere rain torrent; but as the channel is used for conveying canal water during the cold season, it is seldom dry. Northerly and easterly of this, flowing in a parallel direction, is the Sengar, here but a very insignificant stream, gathering its head-waters in a low-lying tract in the village of Ratoli, and gradually growing in its short course of about seven miles to Kotla (Kotila in map), where it leaves the parganah, and passes into the Mainpuri district.

Communications.

The East Indian Railway traverses the parganah from east to west, having a station near the town of Firozábád, the distance of which from Calcutta is 817 miles, from Tundla 10, and from Agra 24. The branch of the Grand Trunk Road that leaves the main line at Bhongáon in the Mainpuri district, passing through

Mainpuri and Shikohabad, also runs through the parganah nearly parallel with, and close to, the line of railway. The traffic from Agra to Cawnpore and the east, as also to Farukhabad and Sháhjahánpur, goes by this line, the length of which in the parganah is about twelve miles. A short branch from the 26th milestone runs from this road to the Firozábád railway station. A second class district road runs southwards from Firozábád to the neighbouring tahsíli town of Fatehabad, distant twelve miles, crossing the Jumna at Shankarpur ferry, between five and six miles from Firozabad. A road of the same class from Tundla station to Etah and Rohilkhand passes through the north-west corner of the parganah, crossing the Sirsa nadi close to Kátki. There are, besides, several third-class roads.

Irrigation.

Of the cultivated and assessable area 84 per cent. is returned as irrigated, and out of this 96 per cent. derives its irrigation from wells, the average irrigated area per well being 6·3 acres. Since 1863 canal-irrigation has been introduced into the parganah, but its effect has been confined to a very limited area.

Condition of the people.

The average cultivation in 1874-75 per head of agriculturists (1·66 acres) compared with the average size of a holding (9 38 acres) gives 5·7 as the number of persons supported by a single holding, or if, neglecting rent-free tenures *(muáfi)*, we take the average of pure agricultural holdings (10 49), then the number of persons will be 6 26. With proprietors and occupancy tenants the size of holdings average about eleven acres; with tenants-at-will only about nine. Mr. Benson's remarks on the indebtedness of the cultivators, 75 per cent. of whom work on borrowed capital, have been quoted at length in the district notice. [*Vide supra*, p. 549.]

Milch cattle, especially buffaloes, are kept largely for the sake of the *ghí* as a market produce; and the ravines afford a good deal of pasturage ground. In nearly all the villages along the ravines are *gadarias* keeping herds of sheep and goats. Camels also are occasionally kept and grazed in the ravines. On the whole the general condition of the people has advanced materially in the last 30 or 40 years.

Tenures.

The division of tenures found to exist at the recent settlement has been stated in the district memoir. [*Vide supra*, p. 532.] The prevalence of the zamíndári tenure in this parganah is remarkable. This is due to the number of estates held by a single owner, such as the Thákuráni of Kotla, Mahtáb Kuar, who owns 49 separate estates *(mahal)*; Thákur Nawáb Sinh Gújar, of Karkoli with 20; Debi Sinh, son of the late Chaudhri Lachhman Sinh Gújar, of Khaira (in Fatehabad), with

6. There are only two cases of the talúkdári tenure in the parganah, *viz.*, Gangni and 'Álampur Járkhi (*vide supra*, p. 535) One village, 'Álampur Kaneta (*alias* Nagla Khánán) is held revenue-free in perpetuity, having been so granted to Chanbe Hulás Rái of Fírozabad, the ancestor of the present owners, for his loyalty and assistance at the time of the occupation of Agra by General Lord Lake.

Fiscal history.

Parganah Fírozábád seems to have been at first included in the Etáwah district; but from a short time after the commencement of British rule up till 1816, when it was, along with Sahpau and Khandauli, transferred to Agra, it was in the Aligarh district. About the year 1825 a new district of Sa'dabad was constituted, which apparently included Fírozabad. At the penultimate settlement under Regulation IX of 1833, made by Mr. Mansel, the parganah was in the Agra district, and Mr. Benson thinks it was restored when the collector's offices were moved from Sa'dabad to Mattra. The earlier assessments can only be stated conjecturally, and will be found in Mr. Benson's *Rent-Rate Report*. The demand of the last of the settlements that preceded the one now current was, at the close of its currency, Rs. 2,03,989, a total reduction of only Rs. 632 on its predecessor, caused by the acquisition of land for public purposes and a small lifegrant (of Rs. 200) for loyalty. The demand of the current settlement is Rs. 2,24,260 (excluding cesses); its incidence per acre as compared with the previous assessment has been stated in the district memoir (*vide supra*, p. 527).

Transfers.

Mr. Benson shows that about 35 per cent. of the total area of the parganah passed from the owners in possession at the settlement made previous to the last revision during the 30 years of its currency. Of these transfers four-ninths were due to private sales, one-third to mortgages, and one-eighth to auction sale. Jádon Rájputs remained the first land-owning caste in the parganah as they had been since British occupation.

Position, area, and population.

Fírozabad.—Chief town in the centre of the tahsíl just described, distant 26 miles east-south-east from Agra. Latitude 27°-8′-37″; longitude 78°-25′-56″. It lies within the lands of the following villages:—Pempur-Raipur, Rasúlpur, Muhammadpur-Gajmálpur, Sukhmálpur, and Akbarabad. The East Indian Railway has a station about a mile from the town, which is situated on the metalled road from Agra to Mainpuri. By the census of 1881 the area was 766 acres, with a total population of 16,023[1] (6,937 females), giving a density of 20 to the

[1] 14,255 in 1872; 13,163 in 1865; 12,674 in 1853; and 11,792 in 1847.

acre. The Hindus numbered 10,770 (4,421 females); Musalmáns 4,473 (2,133 females); Jains 777 (383 females); and those of other religions 3 (all males). The following is a statement of the principal occupations[1] :—

(I.) Persons employed by Government or municipality, 168 · (III.) ministers of the Hindu religion, 66 : (VIII.) musicians, 85 : (XI.) inn-keepers, 119 : (XII) domestic servants, 359 : (XIII) money-lenders and bankers, 65, pedlars of groceries, &c., 72; (XV.) pack-carriers, 66; carters, 99; palanquin-keepers and bearers, 42. (XVII) weighmen, 43 : (XVIII.) landholders, 176; cultivators and tenants, 803; agricultural labourers, 42; (XIX.) horse-keepers and elephant-drivers, 59; (XXVII.) carpenters, 55; brick-layers and masons, 75 : (XXIX.) weavers, 148; calico printers and dyers, 65; cloth-merchants, 95; tailors, 62; shoe-makers and sellers, 59; washermen, 69; barbers, 133 : (XXX) corn and flour dealers, 147; confectioners (*halwái*), 70; greengrocers and fruiterers, 98; grain-parchers, 44, condiment-dealers, 46 : (XXXI.) lac dealers, 140 : (XXXII) manufacturers and sellers of oil, 65; mat-makers and sellers, 68 : (XXXIII) sweepers and scavengers, 96; earthen ware-manufacturers, 102; water-carriers, 109; gold and silver smiths, 83 : (XXXIV) general labourers, 681; persons in (undefined) service (*naukari*), 60 : (XXXV.) beggars, 667.

Modern town.

Firozábád contains 41 wards, the names of which for the most part explain their features or the caste of the occupiers. West of the town are an encamping-ground and rest-house, not so much used as formerly. To the east is a road bungalow. A pillar near the railway station marks a station of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. There is a *ganj* (market) known as Mandavi Galla, constructed by Government. The tahsíl was built by Rája Himmat Bahádur Gosáin, and is situated in the centre of the town, at a short distance from the principal street. Close to it are a first-class police station and the tahsíli, Anglo-vernacular and female schools. In the main street, which is nearly a mile in length, and through which runs the Grand Trunk Road from Agra to Cawnpore, is a second-class branch dispensary. There is also an imperial post-office and a railway telegraph office. A considerable improvement of late years in the health of the inhabitants is ascribed to greater attention to sanitary arrangements. The water-supply is from wells, and is reported to be plentiful and good. The town is well-drained.

Antiquities.

Amongst the old buildings are a mosque first built by some Pathán and since restored by one Ghází-ud-dín Khán; a temple dedicated to Hanumán; and north of the town, the remains of a tank constructed by one Shankar Lál, Bania. There are two masonry temples dedicated to Mahádeo and Shám Sundar Mahárái, constructed by Mahásinh Brahman, who gave his name to a ward in the city; also a temple dedicated to Sri Rám Chand, built by Dali Chand Brahman,

[1] Roman numerals denote the classes in the census returns.

and one dedicated to Sri Rádha Mohan, built by Bansídhar Gosáin. In Rasúlpur is an old walled garden and house built by one Shaikh Latíf; after whom a ward has been named.

Manufactures and trade.

The manufactures are of no importance, the population being mainly trading and agricultural. There are markets for all kinds of produce on Sundays and Thursdays. The chief imports into the municipality, according to the official statement, together with the quantity of value imported in 1881-82, were as follows:—grain (1,33,406 maunds); refined sugar (1,666 maunds); unrefined sugar (10,063 maunds); *ghi* (910 maunds); animals for slaughter (4,139 head); oil and oilseeds (5,637 maunds); fuel (2,957 maunds); building materials (Rs. 11,218); drugs and spices (Rs. 14,798); tobacco (733 maunds); cloth (Rs. 1,25,465); and metals (Rs. 17,835).

Municipality.

A municipality has been established here since March, 1869. The municipal income is derived chiefly from an octroi tax falling, in 1881-82, at the rate of Re. 0-7-0 on net receipts per head of population. The total income in 1881-82 was Rs. 9,338 (including a balance of Rs. 880 from the previous year). The total expenditure in the same year was Rs. 8,270, the chief items of which were collection (Rs. 1,276), police (Rs. 1,515), conservancy (Rs. 1,714).

Local history.

It is said that Rája Todar Mal, Akbar's celebrated finance minister, while returning from a pilgrimage to Gaya, about 1566 A.D, stayed at Ásafabad to the east of the town, and was insulted by the inhabitants while performing the ceremony of tonsure. He represented the matter to Akbar, who ordered an eunuch, Malik Fíroz, to destroy the old town and build the present one. The order was obeyed. There was a tahsíli here during Marhatta rule, when General Perron was Názim. In 1870 a riot took place between the Hindus and Musalmáns, owing to a religious dispute, arising from the coincidence of the Hindu Rámnaumi and the Muhammadan Muharram festivals.

Hathkánt.—Agricultural village in the south-east of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 51 miles south-east from Agra, and 9 miles south-east from Báh, situated in the ravines on the left bank of the Chambal. Latitude 26°-48′ 0″; longitude 78°-45′-4″. Population (1881) 437 (215 females). It is said that a noted freebooter named Hatiya, a Meo, had a fastness here, and was expelled by Rája Ráwat, the first rája of Bhadáwar, about the year 1265 A.D. The parganah was known as Hatkánt in the days of Akbar. The rájas of Bhadáwar had a fort here, but scarcely any traces of it remain. Perched up and down in these almost

inaccessible ravines are several masonry dwelling-houses evidently constructed with a view to defence. On an elevated point is a station of the Great Trigonometrical Survey.

Irádatnagar.—Agricultural village in the east of tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 16 miles south-south-east from Agra, and 14 miles west from Khairágarh, is situated on the right bank of the Khári stream. Latitude 26°-58′-20″; longitude 78°-4′-50″. Population (1881) 1,381 (604 females). The unmetalled road from Khairágarh to Fatehabad passes through the village, and another runs from it direct to Agra cantonments. It has a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, a tahsíli school, and a girls' school. A weekly market is held, but the village is of little importance. There was a tahsíl here under the Marhattas, and the British tahsíli was also at one time stationed here.

I'timádpur.—Also known by the old name (Khandauli). Tahsíl and parganah in the trans-Jumna, portion of the district. North and west are the parganahs Jalesar and Sa'dabad of the Etah and Muttra districts respectively, the former lying due north, the latter north-west and west; while south the winding stream of the Jumna separates I'timádpur, by a natural line of division, from the Fatehabad and Huzúr tahsíls of the district. The total area in 1881-82 was 277·3 square miles, of which 201·0 were cultivated, 31·0 cultivable, and 45·3 barren. The area paying government revenue or quit-rent was 273·0 square miles, 197·0 cultivated, 31·0 cultivable, 45·0 barren. The amount of payment to government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates) was Rs. 3,09,877; or, with local rates and cesses, Rs. 3,47,865. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 5,80,028.

Boundaries, area, &c.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 180 inhabited villages: of which 29 had less than 200 inhabitants; 61 between 200 and 500; 47 between 500 and 1,000; 28 between 1,000 and 2,000; nine between 2,000 and 3,000; and six between 3,000 and 5,000. There were no towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants. The total population was 1,41,267 (64,130 females), giving a density of 509 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 1,28,768 Hindus, (58,363 females); 9,554 Musalmáns (4,426 females); 2,639 Jains (1,192 females); and 306 Christians (149 females).

Population.

The parganah is of very irregular shape, the extreme length west to east being about 23 miles, the extreme breadth about 15; while in its narrowest portion it is not more than five miles broad.

Physical features.

On October 1st, 1878, 46 villages were transferred from parganah Jalesar to I'timádpur. [*See* Notification No. 3090A., dated 14th October, 1878, in *Gazette, North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, of 26th October, 1878.]

Jumna.

The physical character of the parganah is determined by the Jumna and its affluent, the Jhirna. The Jumna flows along the south, but with numerous twists and turns, sometimes running due east, sometimes bending south, and sometimes north; and all along its banks branch out deep and extensive ravines formed by the drainage of the country above. The banks are mostly steep, and, except in a few places, rarely change their position. In the eastern parts of the parganah they form here and there into lofty headlands, which have kept their place for generations. Below these there is generally a narrow sloping shore, and in exceptional villages there are wide stretches of alluvial soil or sand of comparatively recent formation.

Jhirna.

The stream here called the Jhirna or Jharna, but known higher up as Karwan or Karon, flows from the Khúrja parganah of the Bulandshahr district, through the western parganahs of Aligarh and tahsíl Sa'dabad of Muttra. It enters Agra in the village of Naharra on the western side of the parganah, and falls into the Jumna near Sháhdara, a town on the Grand Trunk Road, not far from the ancient site of Agra on the Doáb side of the river. As a stream it is insignificant throughout its course, and is dry in the cold and hot seasons. A little below Naharra ravines begin to form, which, as the Jumna is approached, rapidly increase in extent, and intersect the adjacent country for miles away. These ravines are an important and distinctive feature of the country, which exhibits three separate and strongly marked divisions. First is the tract above the ravines and removed from their influence, which forms the main area of the parganah; then the ravines and the parts adjacent; and, lastly, the low-lying alluvial or *khádar* tract below them. The soil of the first division, the upper level tract, is, with rare exceptions, a rich and productive loam. The ravines are not only sterile themselves, but render sterile large tracts of adjacent land by washing away the surface soil. The *khádar* is often a mere narrow belt of sand capable of supporting only melons. The ownership in the *khádar* is, moreover, precarious, as it is liable to be cut away by the constant changes in the river bed.

Communications.

The parganah is well off for communications by road, rail, and river. Two metalled roads bifurcate near the pontoon bridge at Agra and run north and east. There are also several good unmetalled roads (see map). Traffic by the river has of late years greatly diminished.

Towns and markets.

Towns and markets are almost absent, if Sawád Shahr, the suburb of Agra on the left of the Jumna, be excluded. Tundla is only a railway-station; Títmápur and Khandauli, the chief places in the tahsíl, have populations of only 1,925 and 835 respectively and are largely exceeded in numbers by several agricultural villages. Markets are consequently few, and there is no manufacture or trade worth mention; what little there is consists chiefly of native made indigo, which fetches a poor price in Calcutta, and of country cloth.

Proprietary classes.

Rájputs, Brahmans, and Játs are the great land-holders in the order in which they are mentioned. Musalmáns and Baniás own small proportions. Brahmans of Deokhera; Dhakra, Indolia, and Chauhán Rájputs in various parts of the tahsíl; and Játs of the Járkhi taluka, may be mentioned as leading communities.

Fiscal history.

The fiscal history of the tahsíl consists of the history of the separate portions of which it is composed, namely, the old Khandauli parganah, the Járkhi taluka, and the forty-six villages received in from Jalesar. We need here notice only the first, as an account of the Járkhi taluka was given in the district notice (*supra*, p. 533), while the history of the Jalesar villages showed that of the Jalesar parganah (*see* separate notice, Appendix I). Khandauli, like Firozabad, was one of the parganahs attached in October, 1803, to the Etáwah or fourth division of the conquered districts. In 1804 it became part of the large *zila* of Aligarh. In 1816 it was transferred to *zila* Agra, but subsequently became a parganah of the newly-formed district of Sa'dabad (now Muttra). When that district was dissolved, both Khandauli and Firozabad were again attached to Agra. In the first year of our occupation the parganah was farmed to Púran Chand, a banker of Mahában, but in 1804 the farm was transferred to Thákur Dayá Rám, the Ját talukdár of Háthras, and remained with that chief during the triennial settlement (1805-08) formed in accordance with Regulation IX of 1805. The information available regarding the earlier settlements is very meagre and uncertain; even the amount of the revenue demand cannot be stated with any confidence (see *Settlement Report*, p. 31). It seems, however, that, like other subdivisions in the Doáb, this parganah had suffered from the exactions of General Perron, who managed them for the Marhattas. The early assessments were necessarily, therefore, light, owing to the exhausted conditions of the parganah. The revenue demand at the fourth settlement, in 1840, generally referred to as Mr. Mansel's revision, is stated at Rs. 1,86,279, inclusive of Rs. 29,803 on account of taluka Járkhi, and this is doubtless correct. It had become reduced to

Rs. 1,83,671 at the expiration of that settlement, and the new demand for the current settlement was fixed at Rs 2,13,200, being an enhancement at the rate of 16 per cent. on the former revenue. This assessment was arrived at by a calculation of the assumed rental, in the manner described in the district notice, the Government demand being taken at half that rental, subject to certain well-known deductions.

I'timádpur—Chief town of the tahsíl just described, distant 12 miles east-north-east from Agra. Latitude 27°-13′-50″; longitude 78°-14′-22″. Population (1881) 1,925 (924 females). Its position on the main road from Agra to Mainpuri, and its proximity to the East Indian Railway station of Tundla (distant 2½ miles from it), marked it out as more convenient for the tahsíl head-quarters than Khandauli, where they were until 1854. The town has not, however, improved to the extent that might have been expected. Besides one tahsíli, there are a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and a tahsíli school. A bi-weekly market is held on Sundays and Wednesdays. On the west of the town is an encamping-ground, and on the east a road bungalow. The place is named after its founder, I'timád Khán, who is buried here, and who is said to have been an eunuch in the service of Akbar. The watch and ward of the town is provided for by taxation under Act XX of 1856.

During 1881-82 the house-tax thereby imposed, including a balance of Rs. 55 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs 620. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police (Rs. 245), public works (Rs. 45), and conservancy (Rs. 121), amounted to Rs. 486. The return showed 537 houses, of which 351 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Re. 1-5-0 per house assessed, and Re. 0-1-1 per head of population.

Beyond the encamping-ground is a large, square, masonry tank constructed by I'timád Khán, with a two-storied octagonal building surmounted by a dome. This building is approached by a causeway raised on 21 arches, starting from the north-east side of the tank. A little north of this latter point is a one-storied building similar to that in the centre of the tank, but occupied by a Muhammadan tomb. The sides of the tank measure each about seven or eight hundred feet in length. It is known as the Búrhiá-ká-taláo, the legend being, that in the unsettled times of the Ját and Marhatta rule, an old woman (*búrhiá*) used to sit beside the tank, along the south-west side of which runs the road to Agra, and as travellers passed, if they were few in number, she would signal to the young men of her family hiding in the ravines near by that they might safely attack and rob the wayfarers. There are also in the town a mosque and five masonry temples.

I'timád-ud-daula.—Agricultural village in the south-west of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant one mile east from Agra, and 13 miles west from I'timádpur;

on the left bank of the Jumna, and on the metalled road from Agra to Mainpuri. Latitude 27°-12′-0″; longitude 78°-5′-12″. Population (1881) 1,732 (589 females). It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office. It derives its name and chief interest from the famous tomb of a prime minister of Jahángír. The tomb has been described at length in the notice of AGRA CITY.

Jagner.—House-tax town in the south-west of tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 31⅛ miles south-west from Agra, and 13 miles west-south-west from Khairágarh, on the unmetalled road from Agra to Kot. Latitude 26°-51′-37·6″; longitude 77°-38′-29·1″. Population (1881) 4,168 (1,985 females), made up mainly of Brahmans and Banias.

Modern town.

The town lies at the foot of the hill known as the Jagner hill, or *Bábá Gwál kú paharia*; it has nominally ten wards, but is practically divided into two quarters, those of the Banias and the Brahmans, which are almost separate villages, the first lying along the south-east side of the hill, and the second at the west end of it. At the east end are a brick-built market place and *sarái* dating from about 1861. On the other side of this is the Banias' bázár, rather a well-built, regular street, with a stone gateway at either end. Beyond, a flight of steps leads up to the shrine on the summit known as the Gwál Bábá's. Further on round the corner of the hill is the Brahmans' quarter, more irregularly disposed than the Banias'. Jagner has a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and a school. The town has prospered since the Mutiny; being the medium of communication between Agra and the native states beyond. It sends cotton and iron from Gwáliár to Agra; *ghí* to Agra, Muttra, and Bhartpur; and stone to Agra from the Tántpur and Basai quarries. In return are brought copper vessels, piece-goods, sugar, molasses, rice, and druggists' wares. A weekly market is held here on Fridays. The watch and ward of the town is provided for by taxation under Act XX. of 1856.

During 1881-82 the house-tax thereby imposed, together with a balance of Rs. 1-4 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs. 707. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police (Rs 383), and conservancy (Rs 205), amounted to Rs. 677. The returns showed 1,011 houses, of which 196 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Rs. 3-8-6 per house assessed, and Re. 0-2-6 per head of population.

Local history and antiquities.

One tradition ascribes to Jagbásí, Brahman, the founding of the present town, after the destruction of an older one now known as Unchwán Khera. Another story ascribes the origin to Jag Mal Ráo, Ponwar; the existing fort, now in ruins, but an object of some architectural interest, appears to have been built by him, and an inscription on

it bears date Sambat 1629 (A.D. 1572). Outside the entrance gateway of the fort, on the north-east, is a large tank (*bháoli*), cut out of the solid rock of the hill, constructed by the famous Súrajmal Ját. Near the town was a tank constructed by 'Alivardi Khán, in the days of Akbar; it is now a cultivated field. Both Játs and Marhattas had tahsílis at Jagner, the remains of which still stand to the east of the town at Únchwán Khera. On the heights above and near Jagner there are a number of cairns or heaps of stones. These are regarded by Mr. Carlleyle as the sepulchral remains of the aborigines of the country; but connected with them he mentions a popular tradition, to the effect that in very ancient times a royal wedding procession passing that way, was either struck down by thunderbolts or attacked and slain by robbers; thereafter, on the spots where the men fell, travellers had, from time immemorial, thrown each a stone in passing until the existing heaps were formed. (*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, XI., 214.)

Gwál Bábá's shrine and cave.

Just beyond the town a long flight of steps leads up, as already mentioned, to the shrine known as Gwál Bábá's. Near it is a cave, in which a number of civet cats live, and come to the mouth of the cave at the invitation of the temple attendants. These animals are held sacred, and are believed to be the descendants of some kept here by the saint, Gwál Bábá, to whom the neighbouring temple is dedicated. A legend (given at page 214 of Mr. Carlleyle's report, *Arch, Sur. Rep.*, XII.) accounts for the establishment of the fair held here in Bhádon in connection with a special manifestation of the saint's power.

Jaitpur.—Agricultural village in the east of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 50 miles south-east from Agra, and 7 miles south-east from Báh, on the unmetalled road from Agra to Etáwah. Latitude 26°-50′-10″; longitude 78°-44′-28″. Population (1881) 990 (512 females). It has a first-class police-station and a district post-office.

Jarár.—Agricultural town in the centre of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 40 miles south-east from Agra, and 2 west from Báh, near the unmetalled road from Agra to Etáwah. Latitude 26°-52′-25″; longitude 78°-36′-10″. Population (1881) 3,400 (1,578 females). Jarár has a large trade in grain and other merchandise, and at the bi-weekly markets on Tuesdays and Fridays there is a considerable sale of cattle.

Kachaura.—Agricultural village in the east of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 36 miles south-east from Agra, and 9 miles east-south-west from Báh; on the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 26°-51′-10″; longitude 78°-51′-5″. Population (1881) 2,250 (1,124 females). There is a ferry here (which gives the

name *Ghát-ki-gdon* to the village), and a fort, once the residence of the rájas of Bhadáwar.

Kágáraul.—Agricultural village in the north of the tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 13½ miles south-west from Agra, and 7 miles north from Khairágarh; is situated where the unmetalled road to Khairágarh leaves that from Agra to Jagner. Latitude 27°-1′-28″; longitude 77°-53′-50″. Population (1881) 2,533 (1,195 females). The village has a second-class police-station and a district post-office.

Kágáraul is a place of some antiquity, and the present village stands on a mound composed of the *débris* of an old fort. The remains of a massive wall composed of huge blocks of red sand-stone, some of them beautifully carved, are found in the western part of the village, but most of it is buried in the mound. The name of the village is probably derived from the combined names of Rája Rol (who is the traditional founder of the place), and his father Rája Khángar, Khángar Rol being corrupted to Kágáraul [*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 211]. Ancient remains are frequently found or dug up, such as sculptures, images, and old coins. The tomb of Shaikh Ambar, called the 'Bárah Khambá' is about quarter of a mile to the north of the village; it is a fine mausoleum of red sand-stone in the Fatehpur Síkri style. The roof is supported by twelve pillars (whence the name) and is surmounted by a dome. There are four graves under the canopy, and it is said there is a large tank (*bhaoli*) beneath, now covered over.

Kakúba.—Agricultural village in the south of Huzur tahsíl; distant 8 miles south from Agra, on the metalled road from Agra to Dholpur. Latitude 27°-4′-0″; longitude 78°-1′-37″. Population (1881) 1,026 (406 females). It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office.

Khairágarh.—Tahsíl in the south-west corner of the district. It is divided into two portions by the Utangan river. The part lying on the left bank of that river, triangular in shape, is bounded on the north-west by parganah Fatehpur Síkri, on the east by Fatehabad, and on the south by the Utangan and Dholpur territory. The part of the parganah that lies to the right of the Utangan is a narrow strip some twenty miles in length, with an average breadth of 5 to 6 miles. It comprises, in fact, promontory of British territory, running in a direction slightly south of west into the midst of native states, being bounded on the south by Dholpur, and to the west and north by Bhartpur. The total area in 1881-82 was 308·9 square miles, of which 192·9 were cultivated, 77·0 cultivable, and 39·0 barren. The area paying government revenue or quit-rent was

Boundaries, area, &c.

302·9 square miles (188·9 cultivated, 76·0 cultivable, 38·0 barren). The amount of payment to government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates) was Rs. 2,84,859 ; or, with local rates and cesses, Rs. 3,19,887. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 5,17,036.

Population.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 156 inhabited villages : of which 30 had less than 200 inhabitants ; 52 between 200 and 500 ; 39 between 500 and 1,000 ; 22 between 1,000 and 2,000 ; 9 between 2,000 and 3,000 ; and 4 between 3,000 and 5,000. There were no towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants. The total population was 118,134 (53,979 females), giving a density of 382 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 1,10,291 Hindus (50,417 females) ; 7,051 Musalmáns (3,209 females) ; 784 Jains (353 females) ; 6 Christians (all males) ; and 2 others (both males).

Physical features.

The physical features of the two natural divisions of the parganah vary greatly. The northern portion is of the same character as Fatehpur Síkri on the one side and Fatehabad on the other. It is bounded on the north by the Khári nadi, an insignificant stream in the dry season, but lined on both sides with deep and precipitous ravines. South of these is a limited area of alluvial soil called *kachhár* or *khádar*. The south-western portion, however, has very different characteristics. Here a range of hills, the Bindháchal (*Vindhyáchal*), runs for about 30 miles along the whole of the northern boundary, separating the parganah from Bhartpur territory. From this range issues a spur, known as the crooked hill (*Tirchhá Paháriá*), which, running parallel to it, encloses a valley, called from its shape the *Chúlhí*, or 'fireplace,' occupied by the lands of the village Richhoha. This spur then turns south under the local name of Sitákhoj, from a mark (*khoj*) resembling a foot at its eastern extremity, and, at about 2 miles from Jagner, breaks off, to reappear, however, in a markedly abrupt hill, on which stands the ruined castle of Jagner. Besides this, there are numerous isolated hills in the neighbourhood of the villages of Noni, Meoli, Nayágáon, and Basai. These hills are of red sandstone, almost barren rock ; only the larger amongst them bear trees, which in some cases supply materials for charcoal ; cattle, too, find some scanty grazing. The chief produce of any value is the stone, which is found in large quantities, especially in the quarries at the village of Tántpur, at the extreme west of the parganah. From an archæological point of view, some interest attaches to these hills, as they are mostly connected with the religions or mythologies of the people. Opposite Kurhára, at the north-eastern extremity

of the range, a religious gathering (*játrá*) is held in the spring, in Baisákh: Near Bamnai Buzurg is a paved causeway of Akbar's time, leading from the south to the higher level country on the north of the range. Near Tarhat is a building called Gol, where the Ponwar Rájputs resort to perform the ceremony of tonsure (*mundan*). At the extreme south-west, on the hill which branches off south from Bághor towards Tántpur, is a building known as Todar Saiyid frequented by pilgrims. A solitary hill, rising between the end of the Sítá Khoj hill and Jagner, is known as Bhainsapuri; the Jagner hill is known as Bábá Gwál's.

The broken line of hills running north-east from Jagner to Udena for about six miles is made up of several detached hills; the most southern is the Salpahári hill, on which stands a masonry building said to have been constructed for defence by the zamíndárs of Barguwan Khurd. Under a hill about a quarter of a mile long near Moola is a place called (from a *fakír* of that name) Sathnáth's mound (*chauntará*). The neighbouring villagers perform tonsure here and feed Brahmans. Another hill about 1,300 yards long runs from Biddholi Jagner to Khaura. On this are the heaps of stone mentioned in the notice of Jagner as traditionally marking the place where some travellers were murdered while accompanying a marriage procession across the hill. Half a mile further on begins what is often called Noni ká Pahár, which runs about one and a half miles up to Udena. A *fakír* in some former period is said to have blessed the *dhák* trees that grew here, and so to have secured them immunity from the woodman's axe. Near Noni is a sacred building known as the saint's home (*Sidh ká makán*). Besides the hills already mentioned, there are several other small detached eminences, such as Mathania in Sarenda, Seotári near Dhanína, Karohki and Patli ká Dagaria. The legends that purport to account for the names are of the wildest description, and calculated to satisfy the most enthusiastic folk-lore hunter. Thus Mathania means 'an earthen pot used for holding grain.' According to the legend a cultivator had buried one of these pots, full of grain, in the ground, when a mendicant passed by and demanded alms. The cultivator evasively replied: "Is there stone here, that I should give you anything?" The beggar answered, "My friend, there shall be," and straightway the pot grew to the size of the present hill. Absurd as this story is, it is but a sample of hundreds that might be cited.

Soils.

The character of the soil is naturally much affected by the presence of the hills; at their foot it is composed of the detritus washed down by water, and is of a sandy character, sometimes fairly consistent (called *pilíya*), at other times quite sandy (*bhúr*).

Beyond this, there is frequently a low-lying area, where the soil (called *matiyár*) is a blackish clay, intersected when dry by numerous cracks and fissures, and generally underlaid at no great depth by a layer of *kankar*; this is a poor, unfertile soil and often swamped by the collection of the surface drainage. Where the hills have been left at a distance, the soil becomes ordinary *dúmat*, which is here and there converted to *chiknot* by the action of water.

Another natural feature affecting the character of the soil is the Kawár, a stream that runs through this portion of the parganah and finally falls into the Utangan. Rising beyond the limits of the parganah to the south-west, runs through a corner of it, and then, after traversing the Dholpur territory, again enters the parganah near Jagner. Thence it flows almost due north till it reaches the range of hills, along the base of which it runs to the east until it reaches the Utangan. There are numerous small tributary channels, the most important being that which, rising in the hills near Bághor, runs due east through Bázidpur. The effect of the Kawár on the lowlying lands in the valley through which it flows, is to render them wonderfully fertile, so that the few villages that have the advantage of being stationed along its banks are a striking contrast to the remainder of the parganah.

Communications.

The Síndhia State Railway passes through the eastern half of the tahsíl, from north to south; the Bhandai station is about two miles to the north of the tahsíl boundary, and the Saiyán station is at the junction of the Agra and Bombay road with the cross-road from Irádatnagar to Khairágarh. The first of the roads just mentioned is the only metalled one in the tahsíl, but five unmetalled roads meet at Khairágarh, leading from Irádatnagar, Agra, Achhnera, Bhartpur, and Kot. The last is really a direct thoroughfare from Agra right through this tahsíl (which it enters near Kágáraul) past Sarendhi, Jágner, Bára and Tántpur. The traffic on it consists chiefly of stone-carts from the quarries of Tántpur and carts carrying grain to the market at Jagner. A branch leaves this road at Kágáraul and runs to Khairágarh. The main road crosses the Utangan river, which is not bridged, and as it carries a large body of water in the rains, communication is subject to interruption during that season. A causeway, paved with stone, has now been made to render the passage of the river more easy.

With the exception of the stone quarrying works, the occupation of the population of this parganah is exclusively agricultural. The only town is Jagner.

Fiscal history.

The present limits of the Khairágarh tahsíl include parts of Irádatnagar (53 villages) and Huzúr tahsíl (3 villages) which were transferred to it on 1st October, 1878. The revenue assessed on the parganah as it stood before these additions, since the commencement of British rule, was as follows, at each of the periods mentioned:—

Revenue said to have been paid in 1802-03, the year before conquest	1,57,052
First summary settlement of 1803-04	90,502
Second „ „ „ 1804-05	1,02,321
Highest revenue of first regular settlement, 1805-06	1,16,717
„ „ „ second settlement from 1808-09	1,47,052
„ „ „ third settlement from 1816-17	1,65,752
Average revenue for 5 years preceding last settlement (under Reg. IX. of 1833) ...	1,74,528
Revenue assessed at „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ 1842 ...	1,71,936
„ „ at close of „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ ...	1,63,412
„ fixed at current settlement (1879) ... ... „ ...	1,78,750

The low revenues imposed at the early settlements are accounted for by the extent to which this parganah, with its neighbour Fatehpur Síkri, had suffered during the war with Holkar; and it was not till the second or third regular settlement that any considerable revenue could be imposed. Of the working of all the settlements that preceded that of 1842 we have little information. At the 6th settlement under IX. of 1833, this tahsíl was divided into three parganahs, *viz.*, Khairágarh, Sarendhi, and Jagner, the first being composed chiefly of villages lying to the north of the Utangan, and the other two lying to the south. The chief cause of the reduction at the end of this settlement was an unfavourable season in 1850-51. The pressure of the demand during its currency is proved by the fact that coercive processes had to be largely employed to collect the revenue during the first nineteen years after it was made. It is further shown by the large area (23·2 per cent.) of the parganah that changed hands, much of this being permanently alienated by sale. The chief losers were the Rájput and Gújar communities, and the chief gainers were Káyaths.

Khairágarh.—Capital of the tahsíl just described; distant 18 miles south-west from Agra, on the left or north bank of the Utangan. Latitude 27°-1′-28″, longitude 77°-53′-50″. Population (1881) 1,261 (583 females). Besides being the head-quarters of the tahsíl, this village has a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and a tahsíli school. The Játs and Marhattas both had tahsílis here as well as at Jagner and Sarendhi. At the commencement of British rule, the tahsíli was at Sarendhi and the parganah was called after that place, but at the settlement made in 1842 the tahsíl

head-quarters were transferred to Khairágarh, and the name of the tahsíli was changed in 1863.

Khanda.—Agricultural village in the north of tahsíl I'timádpur, distant 18 miles north-east from Agra, and 12 miles north-north-west from I'timádpur; near the unmetalled road from Jalesar to Muttra and I'timádpur, *viâ* Nekpur. Latitude 27°-22′-45″; *longitude* 78°-12′-43″. *Population* (1881) 3,157 (1,468 females).

Khandauli.—Agricultural village in the north-west of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 10 miles north from Agra, and 14 miles north-west from I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-19′-11″; longitude 78°-4′-54″. Population (1881) 835 (339 females). Local tradition assigns the name of the village to one Khandel Sinh, who rebuilt it after its destruction by the Marhattas. It has a second-class police-station, an imperial post-office, an encamping-ground, and a bázár with markets on Mondays and Thursdays. It anciently gave its name to one of the *chaklas* or *tappas* of Haveli Agra, and is frequently entered in the old records as 'Little Kábul' or 'tappa Kábul Khurd.' Up to 1862 Khandauli gave its name to the parganah, though the tahsíli was removed to I'timádpur in 1854. The old tahsíli building is now used for the police-station.

Kiráoli (sometimes called **Fatehpur Síkri**).—*Tahsíl in the west of the district*; is bounded on the north by the Muttra district and tahsíl; on the east by the Agra (Huzúr) tahsíl; on the south-east by Khairágarh; and on the south-west and west by Bhartpur territory. The extreme length is about 18 miles and breadth about 24 miles. The total area in 1881-82 was 272·0 square miles, of which 189·0 were cultivated, 62·0 cultivable, and 21·0 barren. The area paying Government revenue or quit-rent was 269·0 square miles (187·0 cultivated, 61·0 cultivable, 21·0 barren). The amount of payment to Government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates) was Rs. 2,97,891; or, with local-rates and cesses, Rs. 3,34,237. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 3,83,490.

Boundaries, area, &c.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 171 inhabited villages: of which 24 had less than 200 inhabitants; 68 between 200 and 500; 52 between 500 and 1,000; 19 between 1,000 and 2,000; 6 between 2,000 and 3,000; and 1 had between 3,000 and 5,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Fatehpur Sikri (6,243). The total population was 1,14,678 (53,082 females), giving a density of 421 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 1,01,861 Hindus (47,224 females); 11,989 Musalmáns (5,464 females); 823 Jains (393 females); and 5 Christians (1 female).

Population.

Physical features.

Near the southern boundary of the parganah runs the river Utangan, flowing in a wide and shallow channel. A large body of water comes down during the rains, and the lands adjoining the river are, consequently, much affected by fluvial action and deposits of sand. As, however, the boundary of the parganah is not everywhere coincident with the river, only some six or seven villages are exposed to injury from it. More important in its effect on the parganah is a second, but smaller, stream, the Khári nadi, which runs through its centre. This river rises just outside its western boundary in Bhartpur territory, barely three miles from the Utangan. It takes, however, a different direction, trending to the north-east, a course which it follows, through the valley between the Fatehpur Síkri range of hills on the south and a smaller range running parallel to it on the north. At Bisáhri Sikandar it is joined by a tributary which descends from the north-west. Shortly afterwards, it turns off at right angles; and, flowing in a generally south-easterly direction, passes through a gap in the hills between Bharkol and Sántha, and so through the middle of the tahsíl, until it passes out at its south-east corner. Until the main stream meets its tributary at Bisáhri, both alike run in shallow channels which are cultivated as soon as the water passes off, as it does very rapidly. After the two streams have united, the banks become more defined, the bed deeper and no longer culturable. As a general rule there is not much overflow, and little injury from sandy deposit. The country on either side has a general slope towards the river, and the land near the banks is for the most part sandy and inferior.

The eastern portion of the parganah is level and resembles the adjoining country in the Agra (Huzúr) tahsíl. In the western half, however, are hills, the most important being the range on which the town of Fatehpur Síkri stands. It runs across the valley between the Utangan and the Khári nadi in a north-easterly direction, and a portion of it lies beyond the latter stream. A much shorter and lower range of hills runs parallel to this on the north side of the Khári nadi; both ranges alike consist of the red sandstone known so well in this district. Generally speaking, the surface of the country is level; the soil, for the most part, the light loam ordinarily called *dúmat*, somewhat lighter indeed and more sandy than usually is the case.

Communications.

The Muttra and Agra road crosses the north-east of the tahsíl, but the most important road is the one from Agra, through the central line of the parganah to Kiráoli and Fatehpur Síkri, up to which point it is metalled. Thence it continues westwards, and is known as the Nasírabad road. This line of communication is connected by

numerous ordinary village roads with all parts of the parganah, which is thus brought into close connection with the city of Agra, distant only 10 miles from its eastern border. The Rájputána State Railway passes through the northern half of the tahsíl within four miles of Kiráoli, and at Achhnera, its only station in the tahsíl, the branch line to Muttra strikes off. The Agra canal passes through the north of the tahsíl and three distributaries fertilise the tract to the north of the Khári river.

Towns and markets.

The only town in the parganah is the small town of Fatehpur Síkri, more remarkable for its past history than for any importance it possesses at the present time. A market is held there every Saturday, at which Agra cloth merchants attend and supply the villagers with cloth, while the latter in turn dispose of their vegetables, leather, and brass and copper vessels. There is also a somewhat important fair held in the month of Ramazán in honor of Shaikh Salím Chishtí, to which tradesmen from Bhartpur and Dehli find it worth their while to come. Kiráoli, at which the tahsíl office is placed, and Achhnera, are nothing more than large villages.

Fiscal history.

The present limits of the Kiráoli tahsíl include, besides the old parganah of Fatehpur Síkri, parts of the abolished tahsíl of Farah (52 villages) and of the Agra (*Huzúr*) tahsíl (11 villages), which were transferred to it on 1st October, 1878. The fiscal history of these portions of other tahsíls need not be repeated here, but a brief sketch may be given of the fiscal history of the old Fatehpur Síkri tahsíl or parganah. In 1804-05 it was lying waste to a great extent from the effects of Marhatta inroads and the war with Bhartpur. The earlier assessments appear, in consequence, to have been moderate. The demands of all past settlements are shown below:—

Date of settlement.	Revenue.		
	Rs	a.	p.
A. D. 1803 (1210 fasli), the year before conquest	1,04,205	0	0
A. D 1804 (1211 fasli)	1,09,906	0	0
First settlement, 1806-1808, highest revenue	1,15,938	0	0
Second ditto 1809-1815 ditto	1,47,879	0	0
Third ditto 1816-40	1,75,736	0	0
Fourth ditto 1840 (under Regulation IX. of 1833)	1,84,578	0	0
Ditto ditto expiring revenue	1,81,684	0	0
Current settlement (1879)	1,90,450	0	0

37,500 acres represent the total area that passed out of the hands of the owners between the last and current settlements and amount to 35 per cent. of

the parganah area. Of this about 5 per cent. was only mortgaged, leaving 30 per cent. as the amount that was completely alienated. Seventy per cent. was thus still held by the old zamíndárs and their descendants. In this respect the parganah has escaped with fewer changes than has been the case in the rest of the district.

Kiráolí.—Capital of the tahsíl just described; distant 15 miles west-south-west from Agra, on the metalled road from Agra to Fatehpur Síkri. Latitude 27°-8′-30″; longitude 77°-50′-20″. Population (1881) 3,875 (1,758 females). It has been the seat of the tahsíli since 1850, and has, besides a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office and a small school The tahsíli and police-station are located in an old masonry *bárádari*. A masonry bungalow, the remains of a city wall, a grove, and a mosque are ascribed to Muhammadan times.

Malpura.—Agricultural village in the south-west of Huzúr Tahsíl; distant 5½ miles south-west from Agra, on the unmetalled road from Agra to Khairágarh. Latitude 27°-7′-49″; Longitude 77°-58′-55″. Population (1881) 2,258 (1,006 females). It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office. The Játs and Marhattas had each a *tahsíli* and a *thána* (police-station) here.

Midhákur.—Agricultural town in the west of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 10½ miles west from Agra, on the metalled road from Agra to Fatehpur Síkri. Latitude 27°-9′-32″; longitude 77°-55′-2″. Population (1881) 3,721 (1,733 females). It has a police out-post and an encamping-ground. The village gave its name to one of the old sub-divisions (*tappa*) of mahál of Haveli Agra.

Naráich.—Agricultural town in the south-west of tahsíl Ítimádpur; distant 3 miles north-east from Agra, and 11 miles west by south from Ítimádpur; on the metalled road from Agra to Aligarh. Latitude 27°-12′-42″; longitude 78°-5′-58″. Population (1881) 4,420 (2,126 females). The population is scattered in several village sites.

Nárkhi.—Agricultural town in the north of tahsíl Firozabad, distant 25 miles north-east from Agra, and 12 miles north from Firozabad. Latitude 27°-17′-42″; longitude 78°-26′-47″. Population (1881) 2,330 (1,028 females). Three unmetalled roads run from Nárkhi, one to Ítimádpur, another to Firozabad, and the third to Kotla. It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office.

Naugáwán.—Agricultural village in the north-east of tahsíl Báh Panáhat; distant 54 miles south-east from Agra, and 12 miles east from Báh; stands on

the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 26°-53′-0″ ; longitude 78°-18′-38″. Population (1881) 2,589 (1,269 females). It has an imperial post-office, and an old fort, the usual residence of the rájas of Bhadáwar.

Nibohra.—*Agricultural village in the south of tahsíl Fatehabad ;* distant 19¾ miles south-east from Agra, and 8 miles south-south-west from Fatehabad, near the left bank of the Utangan, on a branch of the Agra canal. Latitude 26°-57′-32″ ; longitude 78°-18′-10″. Population (1881) 1,796 (814 females). It has a second-class police-station.

Panáhat (*sometimes called* **Báh Panahat**).—*South-eastern tahsíl of the district;* is almost an island, cut off from the main land by large rivers. For about five or six miles east it is bounded by the ravine country of Patti Kamait of the Etáwah district (see *Gazetteer* IV., p. 455), and for about nine miles due west by parganah *Raja Khera of the Native State of Dholpur ; elsewhere it is closed in by water.* On the south, the deep and clear stream of the Chambal, flowing in long and sweeping curves from west to east, separates it from Gwáliár territory ; on the north, two rivers, the Utangan and the Jumna, form a continuous boundary line. The former, a stream, broad of bed indeed, but shallow at all times, except during the rainy season, divides the western part of the parganah from Fatehabad until it unites with the Jumna, whose winding course bends and twists between the centre and eastern tracts and the three parganahs Firozabad of Agra, Shikohabad of Mainpuri, and Bibámau of Etáwah. The total area in 1881-82 was 341·4 square miles, of which 176·4 were cultivated, 48·0 cultivable, and 117·0 barren. The area paying government revenue or quit-rent was 283·4 square miles (161·4 cultivated, 37·0 cultivable, 85·0 barren). The amount of payment to government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates) was Rs. 2,08,670 ; or, with local-rates and cesses, Rs. 2,36,986. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 4,52,136.

Boundaries, area, &c.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 204 inhabited villages : of which 53 had *less than 200 inhabitants* ; 71 between 200 and 500 ; 52 between 500 and 1,000 ; 19 between 1,000 and 2,000 ; 6 between 2,000 and 3,000 ; and 2 between 3,000 and 5,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Panáhat (5,697). The total population was 1,20,529 (57,005 females), giving a density of 353 to the square mile. *Classified according to religion,* there were 1,15,154 Hindus (54,589 females); 3,491 Musalmáns (1,588 females) ; 1,880 Jains (810 females) ; and 4 Christians (1 female).

Population.

Physical features

Báh and Panáhat originally gave their names to two separate sub-divisions, which, however, before the date of last settlement had been formed into one compact tahsíl and parganah; the official head-quarters were at first fixed in Panáhat, but transferred to Báh in January, 1882. In shape the parganah is a long, irregular strip of land, narrow at either end, but widening out towards the centre. The extreme length, from the Jumna at Khikáwali to the Chambal at Samona, is about 42 miles; and the extreme breadth, from Kálinjar in the north to Gúrha in the south, about 14 miles; but the average breadth is not more than eight or nine miles. The three rivers already mentioned—the Utangan, the Chambal, and the Jumna—wholly determine the physical character of the parganah, which differs greatly from any other portion of the district.

Uplands.

The northern and southern river boundaries are so close to each other throughout the whole length of the tract that the level uplands, which form the watershed, are a mere ridge or narrow strip between the ravines that edge the water-line on both sides. To the west these uplands are not more than two miles broad; to the east the ravines of the Chambal and Jumna almost unite, leaving only here and there a patch of culturable ground. The uplands generally widen out towards the centre of the parganah, and in one or two places form a plateau from eight to nine miles broad, but their average breadth is not more than four or five miles. The character of their soil is very varied; the soil of the upper lands are sandy to the north, light loam in the intermediate area, clay to the south-west and south, and loam again to the south-east.

Ravines.

The ravines that edge the uplands are the most striking feature of the country. Here and there on the Chambal side they begin to form at a distance of about five or six miles from the river, and their average width from upland to river can scarcely be less than from two to two and a half miles. On the side of the Jumna and Utangan they are not so broad or extensive, but everywhere they are much alike in formation and character, and everywhere are wild and picturesque. The whole ravine area is a weird and fantastic landscape of steep ridges, of low sloping hills, of deep hollows and winding streams. Sometimes the soil is bare of all vegetation, sometimes it is covered with low bushes of spontaneous growth. The *babúl* is not uncommon on the uplands, and here and there a *pípal* or *mahúá* crowns an elevation, but there are no groves, and the ravines are absolutely bare of trees. The villages are often found in well-nigh inaccessible positions, adopted in times of war and exaction, when the

natural strength of their sites was a security alike against the revenue collector and the foreign invader; rarely, indeed, is a homestead, the villages along the ravines, found on the open uplands. The ravines are, throughout, difficult of access, and, except where roads have been cut out by the British Government, a winding track from the river-banks each side alone affords the means of reaching the villages.

Kachhár.

If, however, the ravines of the three rivers are much alike, this cannot be said of the cultivated soil amidst and below them. The low-lying lands—called *kachhár*, as opposed to the up-land (*hár*)—of the Utangan, Jumna, and Chambal, differ much in formation and appearance. Altogether they make up a most important portion of the cultivated area of the parganah, and are far more extensive and productive than the similarly-situated lands of any other sub-division of the district. The *kachhár* of the Chambal is very varied in character; generally it is a fertile soil, although its produce is uncertain, as it is always doubtful from year to year what change in the surface of the soil the river floods will produce. About the Jumna *kachhár* there is more certainty, but on the whole less fertility. Here and there, as about Batesar to the north, or Khiláwali to the south-east, there are beautiful level plains of rich soil, but these are few and far between. The good lands are for the most part limited to comparatively narrow strips close to the river banks, and the great mass of the *kachhár* is a sandy soil high above the river banks, but below the ravines, where the main produce is a mediocre *kharif*, and where rich crops can only be produced by irrigation. There is none of the rich *már* that distinguishes the Chambal lands, and little of the broken ground, where wheat grows so luxuriantly, in the beds of *nálas*. The Utangan *kachhár* is more like that of the Chambal, in that there are extensive tracts among the ravines far away from the river side; but the soil is different. It follows the character of the river bed, which is a reddish-coloured sand. Where the level of the soil is low enough to be flooded in the rains, or where it is irrigated, it is very fertile, and there are fine tracts of wheat among the more western villages; but where there is lack of moisture, the soil is poor and unproductive.

Communications.

The physical features of the parganah involve, as already mentioned, much difficulty in communication; on the one side the Utangan cuts it off from the rest of the district, on the other the ravine country of Patti Kamai leads only to the junction of the Jumna and the Chambal. Into the Native State of Dholpur alone is there any exit from this part of the country, except by the passage of a river. None of

the rivers is bridged, and in the rainy season, when the floods are high, they are crossed in boats with difficulty and delay; so that the parganah is then almost isolated from the adjoining country. In the cold and hot weather the Utangan becomes a shallow rivulet, and the heavy sand of the river-banks on either side is all the obstruction carts have to overcome. On the Chambal and Jumna there are numerous ferries; and, though both rivers, especially the former, are, for the most part, of considerable depth, yet the streams are then narrow, and there need be no serious delay in the passage. There are no metalled roads at all, and only four of the second class, raised and bridged. These are (1) the main road of communication, which, starting from Agra, passes through Fatehabad and straight through this tahsíl, from Arnota on the Utangan to Kachaura, a large market town, and the seat of the Bhadáwar rája, on the Jumna; (2) another road from Arnota, five miles long, connecting Fatehabad with Panáhat; (3) the road which unites Panáhat with the main road at Bhadroli, about six and a half miles long; and (4) a road straight through the parganah from north to south, joining the two ferries of Kenjra and Bikrampur. Of the third-class, or unraised and unbridged roads, there are also four—(1) a branch from the main road from Fatehabad to Kachaura, leaving it at a village about four miles west of Báh to Batesar, for the convenience of pilgrims and visitors to the Batesar temples and fair; (2) another from the town of Báh to the same place and for the same purpose; (3) a road leading from Panáhat through Páparinagar to the large market town of Rája Khera in the Dolpur state; and (4) from Nahtoli towards the Etáwah district.

But for exports and imports, such as they are, the easiest and more generally used means of communication is by water. The little trade there is in the parganah converges from all parts to the two *ghâts* of Bikrampur and Kachaura, whence country boats convey away the surplus grain and bring back sugar, *ghí*, and other articles of local consumption. With Gwáliár across the Chambal, or with Dholpur, there is little or no trade.

Irrigation.

The irrigated area is only 21 per cent. of the cultivated.[1] In fact, perhaps, the most marked feature of the parganah is the great depth of the water from the surface in the upper lands. In many villages the spring is 120 feet from the mouth of the well, and from 85 to 100 is a common depth. Irrigation is so expensive that

[1] So wrote Mr. Smith in his *Rent-Rate Report*; Mr H. Z Darrah, in a recent note on the parganah, states it at but 5 per cent Mr. Smith's figures are followed in the *Final Settlement Report* (page 12).

it is comparatively seldom resorted to, and the great bulk of the area is left to depend on the rain alone. In numerous villages, especially in the eastern parts of the parganah, there is not a well on the estate, even for drinking purposes, and water is brought either from the nearest river, or an adjoining and more fortunate village, where a well has been sunk.

Towns and markets.

There is no town of any considerable size in the tahsíl. The largest is Panáhat, the former head-quarters of the tahsíl, with a population of 5,697. The present tahsíl town, Báh, boasts of only 3,649 inhabitants. In Kachaura there are 2,258, in Párna 2,856, in Batesar 2,519, and in Jarár 3,400. The markets, too, are neither numerous nor important. There are several annual *melas*, and one, the Batesar fair, is of great celebrity throughout northern India. Another fair, called the *mela of Nágají, is held at Bamraulí in Aghan* (November-December), and attracts a large number of people from the neighbouring state of Gwáliár, as well as from this district. Two *melas* are held annually in the town of Panáhat, and one at Kachaura, at Báh, and at Naugáwán.

Cattle-breeding and cattle-rearing.

Cattle-breeding and cattle-rearing are largely carried on by the zamíndárs of this tahsíl, and the so-called Panáhat breed has more than a local reputation. Inquiries made lately by Mr. H. Z. Darrah, seem to show, however, that the breed that commands such an extensive sale amongst purchasers from other districts is not indigenous. The zamíndárs and more wealthy cultivators buy young cattle from traders and are chiefly reared in the villages bordering on the ravines. Mr. Darrah writes :—

"In Panáhat the water is very far from the surface, consequently there is no irrigation to speak of, and next to no work at wells. Cane (owing to the impossibility of irrigation) is scarcely ever grown, and there are, therefore, but few sugar-mills to need heavy cattle. The soil is peculiarly light and ploughing is easy. The young cattle thrive, therefore, on the small amount of work required from them, and gather size and strength for the heavy irrigation and severe *kolhu* work of other districts. When they have got six teeth, they are generally sold to outsiders, who seem to come chiefly from Mainpuri, Jaunpur, Aligarh, and Etah. Being mostly of the western short-horn breed, and having been carefully tended and lightly worked in Panáhat, they are, when full grown, fine handsome cattle, and command prices ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 and Rs. 70 a-piece. This system of rearing cattle appears to be almost peculiar to Panáhat. It prevails to a certain extent in Etáwah and Mainpuri, but forms one of the most profitable sources of income to the Panáhat zamíndár. The *baipárís* told me that though they took cattle to Etáwah, their largest sales were always made in the Panáhat parganah."

Trade and manufactures.

At present there are no merchants and no trade worth notice. In former times, when there was no Grand Trunk Road, and railways were unknown, things must have been

different. Kachaura was then a large centre of trade, with numerous wealthy merchants and bankers. The rája of Bhadáwar held the ferry over the Jumna, and is reported to have collected nearly a lákh of rupees annually in transit dues. When the country fell into British hands, and all dues of the kind were abolished, the rája was called upon to send in a statement of this source of income, the intention being to recoup him for any loss he might suffer. The rája, misapprehending the motives of the inquiry, largely understated the returns. His statement was at once accepted, and the sum named by himself, Rs. 24,100, sanctioned by a *sanad* as a yearly cash allowance to himself and his heirs for ever: a costly lesson on the bad policy of dishonesty. With the general improvement of communications the prosperity of Kachaura has departed. The ruins of fine masonry houses are all that remain to give evidence of its former wealth.

Proprietors

Brahmans and Rájputs are the two great land-owning castes, the former holding 37 per cent. of the whole area, the latter 30 per cent. Next to them, but at a considerable interval, come Banias with 10½ per cent. of the area, then Khatrís with 7 per cent. The Chaubes, who constitute a large proportion of the Brahmans, have long been settled in this parganah. They form several large proprietary communities, but are an enterprising body of men, and few of them owe their means of livelihood to the few acres each can boast as his share. The younger members seek service in the large towns of the North-West and Bengal, and many of them will be found among the *darwáns* of Calcutta merchants. They only return to their village when they have amassed enough to provide comfort for their old age. The Khatrí area is almost wholly the property of Bábu Bishambhar Núth, the son of Joti Prasád, whose services during the Mutiny were rewarded by the grant of six entire villages, and the greater portion of seven others, the confiscated estates of the turbulent clans of Bhadaurías and Ráthaurs.

Cultivating classes.

Among the cultivators of the soil Brahmans and Thákurs are by far the most numerous. Both castes together hold 51 per cent. of the cultivated area and pay 49½ per cent. of the rent, Brahmans occupying 30½ per cent. of the land and paying 30 per cent. of the rental, Thákurs holding 20½ per cent. of cultivation assessed with 19½ per cent. of rent.

Tenures.

Of the 189 *Khalsa maháls* 58 only, or 30 per cent., are *zamíndárí* while 70 per cent. are imperfect *pattidárí*. Landed property indeed has always been much sub-divided. Before the

Mutiny there was no large owner in the tahsíl, and with the exception of Bábu Bishambhar Náth, there is no great proprietor now. In many even of the zamíndárí villages there are numerous co-sharers, and in the *pattidárí mahâls* the number is often surprising. The history of the Bhadáwar *jágír* has been given in the district notice.

Fiscal history.

Immediately after the conquest in 1803, parganah Bâh Panáhat was temporarily attached to the Fírozabad division of the conquered provinces, and for the year 1211 fasli (1803-4), was farmed to one Brajbásí Lál at the very light *jamá* of Rs. 82,787, the demand for the preceding year, while the parganah was still under native rule, having been Rs. 1,40,808. The revenue demand at each settlement, as given in the *Final Settlement Report* page 31), was as follows :—

1st settlement,		1805-6	...	1,46,139
2nd	ditto	1808-9	...	1,51,771
3rd	ditto	1816-17	...	2,01,651
4th	ditto	1840	...	1,77,010
Ditto expiring revenue			...	1,75,575
Current assessment			...	2,08,420

The revenue fixed at the current settlement (Rs. 2,08,420) is 19 per cent. higher than the demand of the expired settlement. That demand (writes Mr. Smith) had not pressed heavily, but the infinite multiplicity of proprietary shares, the turbulent character of the Bhadauriá, Ráthaur, and Tomar Rájputs, and the proximity of native states, have always been difficulties in the way of a ready realisation of the Government demand. At the settlement under Regulation IX. of 1833, more than half the area was under home farm (*sír*) cultivation; but at the recent settlement proprietors were found to occupy only 23·3 per cent of the cultivated area, tenants with a right of occupancy 51½ per cent., tenants-at-will 23½ per cent., while miscellaneous plots held rent-free covered 1·7 per cent. only. Of the ordinary tenant-held area alone, the protected class of tenants occupied 68·7 per cent., tenants without protection 30·3 per cent. The struggle between proprietors and tenants regarding occupancy rights, which has been so fierce in some districts, had, up to the recent settlement, had no existence here. It would seem, however, that this happy condition of things has come to an end since the new revenue was imposed, and a considerable contraction in the area held by occupancy tenants is now reported.

Panáhat.—Small town in the tahsíl just described, and head-quarters of the tahsíl till January, 1882; distant 33 miles south-east from Agra, 14 miles

west from Báh, and about a mile north from the left bank of the Chambal. Latitude 26°-52′-39″; longitude 78°-24′-58″. By the census of 1881 the area was 103 acres, with a total population of 5,697[1] (2,762 females), giving a density of 55 to the acre. The Hindus numbered 5,005 (2,442 females); Musalmáns 653 (303 females), Jains 39 (17 females). The town has nine wards (*muhalla*), and contains a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and a parganah school. There are three temples, founded by Rája Gopál Sinh, Rája Himmat Sinh, and Rája Bakht Sinh respectively, to which small endowments are attached.

Local tradition makes the original name of the town Pand-hat, and connects it with the Pándavas and Kauravas of the Great War, but for this there is no authority. An *ámil* of the Bhadáwar rájas resided here and Rája Gopál Sinh built a fort commanding the road from Rájghát on the Chambal, a mile distant. It commands an extensive view, and has been used as a station of the great Trigonometrical Survey. The same rája built a masonry wall around the town and a handsome market place, all of which are now falling into decay. On the north of the town is a very large tank with masonry sides, fully 300 yards square, built by the same rája, and now falling into decay. Block *kankar* from the Chambal ravines is much used for masonry. The Játs as well as the Bhadaurias had tahsílis both here and at Báh; both were amalgamated shortly after our occupation.

Parna.—Agricultural village in the north-east of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 52 miles south-east from Agra, and 10 miles west from Báh, on the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 26°-53′-0″; longitude 78°-46′-32″. Population (1881) 2,856 (1,382 females). On a cliff near the river is a fort, the hereditary residence of the treasurer (díwán) of the Bhadaurias.

Runkuta.—Agricultural village in the north-east of tahsíl Kiráoli; distant 9 miles north-west from Agra, and 16 miles north-east from Kiráoli, on the metalled road from Agra to Muttra. Latitude 27°-14′-12″; longitude 77°-55′-50″. Population (1881) 2,089 (939 females). It has a second-class police-station, a district post-office, a *sarái*, and a market on Sundays. On the banks of the Jumna, close by to the north, are the remains of three old baths, a temple of Parasrámji, where fairs are held on certain days, the mosque of Sarwar Salai, and the ruins of a *sarái* and several masonry wells.

Saiyán.—Agricultural village in tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 17 miles south-south-west from Agra, and 8 miles west from Khairágarh. Latitude 26°-56′-20″; longitude 77°-58′-40″. Population (1881) 1,992 (927 females).

[1] 6,571 in 1872, and 6,124 in 1865.

It is a station on the Síndhia State Railway, and has a first-class police-station and an imperial post-office. It gave its name to one of the *tappas* of Haveli Agra.

Samogar.—Small village on the Jumna in the Huzúr tahsíl; 4 miles distant from Agra. Population (1881) 798 (367 females). It is only remarkable historically as having been the scene of the famous battle between Aurangzeb and his elder brother Dárá Shikoh in June, 1658 A.D. (*vide supra*, p. 610).

Sarendhi.—Agricultural town in tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 24 miles south-west from Agra, and 9 miles west from Khairágarh, on the unmetalled road from Rúpbás to Khairágarh. Latitude 26°-56′-35″; longitude 77°-43′-23″. Population (1881) 3,270 (1,513 females). It has a police outpost and a weekly market. Sarendhi was the seat of a tahsíli under the Játs and Marhattas and for the first 40 years of British rule. It was here that the treaty between Lord Lake and Ambaji Ráo Inglia was signed on December 16th, 1803.

Semra.—Agricultural town in the north-west of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 14 miles north-north-east from Agra, and 14 miles north-west from I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-19′-56″; longitude 78°-7′-10″. Population (1881) 4,797 (2,170 females). It has a parganah school, a masonry temple and tank, and bi-weekly markets on Sundays and Wednesdays.

Shamsabad.—Agricultural village in the centre of the western half of tahsíl Fatehabad; distant 11 miles south-east from Agra, and 12 miles west from Fatehabad. Latitude 27°-0°-34″; longitude 78°-10′-0″. Population (1881) 2,229 (1,112 females). It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office. Shamsabad gave its name to one of the *tappas* of Haveli Agra, and was the seat of a tahsíli under both Játs and Marhattas.

Sikandra.—Village in the north-west of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 5 miles north-west from Agra, of which it is sometimes accounted a suburb, on the metalled road from Agra to Muttra. Latitude 27°-13′-1·8″; longitude 77°-59′-33·7″. Population (1881) 1,745 (865 females). It received its name from the emperor Sikandar Lodi, who built a palace, or *báradari* here, in 1495 A.D., which will be described presently. Sikandra has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office.

Ancient Sikandra.

It has been supposed that the Agra of the earlier period of the Lodi dynasty was at Sikandra, or divided between Sikandra and the Lodi-Khán-ka-Tila, a quarter of the present city of Agra. Remains of the sites of innumerable buildings on each side of

the road from Agra to Sikandra, and round about Sikandra itself, are still to be seen, of many of which it is impossible now to discover who was the founder or what the particular purpose for which they were built [see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., 112].

Báradari of Sikandar Lodi.

The Báradari of Sikandar Lodi, mentioned above, is a square building of red sandstone, 112½ feet on each side, and comprises two stories with a vault below, the ground floor containing about forty chambers. Each corner of the building is surmounted by a short ornamental octagonal tower. This building is commonly known as the tomb of Akbar's Christian wife, because Akbar interred his wife Maryam-uz-zámání, the mother of Jahángír here. Her tomb is in the vault below, and in the centre of the upper story is a white marble cenotaph. The building has for many years been used as a printing office by the Sikandra orphanage.

Hans Mahál of Rája Bírbal.

The Hans Mahál, attributed to Akbar's minister and friend, Rája Bírbal, is situated about 8 miles beyond Sikandra, at the very apex of a great bend of the Jumna, which makes a peninsula of the land there. The palace is entirely ruined, the greater part of it having been removed for the sake of its materials, which, it is said, were appropriated for the buildings at the Orphan Asylum at Sikandra. The fragment of the palace now standing is inhabited by a farmer. The original extent of the palace must have been somewhere about 380 feet by 200 feet, judging by the traces of foundations of walls, and the mounds of earth formed by *débris* (*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 120).

Mausoleum of Akbar.

But the distinctive feature of Sikandra is the famous tomb of Akbar. It stands in a large garden of 150 acres in extent, surrounded by lofty walls with gateways midway on each side. The building is of five stories, each smaller than that below it, the topmost story being of white marble, and surrounded with beautiful screens of the same material. In the centre is the tomb of the emperor and the pedestal on which was deposited the Koh-i-Núr. This upper story is now open to the sky, but formerly there was a canopy of gold and silver brocade suspended over the platform, and hangings of similar material in the openings of the cloisters all round. These, with many other valuable adornments of the place, were carried off by the Ját rája, Jawáhir Sinh. In a crypt beneath the whole building is the actual tomb. The marble stones which flagged the entrance to this crypt were also carried off to Díg by Jawáhir Sinh. In the chambers on each side of the entrance to the tomb are the graves of two daughters and granddaughters of

the monarch, one as recent as 1836 A.D., being the tomb of Salím Shikoh, son of Sháh 'Alam of the Dehli family, who with his two wives is buried here. The walls and gateways of the garden have suffered much from time, but the Mausoleum itself is in fair repair. Mr. Benson writes :—

"The garden is said to have existed in Akbar's time, but the tomb is erroneously spoken of by Fergusson as one of Akbar's buildings. It was built by Jahángír. The *Memoirs of Jahángír* mention his visiting Sikandra in the third year of his reign, and, being dissatisfied with the tomb then constructed, having it re-built at a cost of 15 lákhs of rupees (£150,000). The inscription on the south or outside front of the great gateway states that Jahángír completed the work in the seventh year of his reign or 1612-13 A.D. The *Memoirs of Sháh Jahán* give 20 years as the period of completion, and 20 lákhs of rupees (£ 200,000) as the cost. After this Sikandra received the distinctive title of 'Sikandra Bihishtabad.' The entrance gateway on the south is by far the finest of the four on the four sides of the garden, and had originally two lofty minarets of white marble, the tops of which have been knocked off."

The following is the brief description of Akbar's tomb given by Mr. Fergusson in his *History of India and Eastern Architecture* (p. 583):—

"Perhaps the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings is the tomb he commenced to erect for himself at Sikandra, near Agra, which is quite unlike any other tomb built in India either before or since, and of a design borrowed, as I believe, from a Hindu, or more correctly, Buddhist, model. It stands in an extensive garden, still kept up, approached by one noble gateway. In the centre of this garden, on a raised platform, stands the tomb itself, of a pyramidal form. The lower story measures 320 feet each way, exclusive of the angle towers. It is 30 feet in height, and pierced by ten great arches on each face, and with a larger entrance adorned with a mosaic of marble in the centre." [Two illustrations, a ground plan and a diagram section are given in Mr. Fergusson's text to illustrate this part of the description: no description can be adequate to convey an idea of the building without such aids, which, unfortunately, cannot be given with this notice.]

"On this terrace stands another far more ornate, measuring 186 feet on each side, and 14 feet 9 inches in height. A third and fourth of similar design, and respectively 15 feet 2 inches and 14 feet 6 inches high, stand on this, all these being of red sandstone. Within and above the last is a white marble enclosure, 157 feet each way, or externally just half the length of the lowest terrace, its outer wall being entirely composed of marble trellis work of the most beautiful pattern. Inside it is surrounded by a colonnade or cloister of the same material, in the centre of which, on a raised platform, is the tomb-stone of the founder, a splendid piece of the most beautiful arabesque tracery. This, however, is not the true burial place; but the mortal remains of this great king repose under a far plainer tomb-stone in a vaulted chamber in the basement, 8 feet square, exactly under the simulated tomb that adorns the summit of the Mausoleum."

Mr. Fergusson then remarks upon the general design of this unique building, in which he sees a direct imitation of some such building as the old Buddhist *vihára* (monasteries). He thinks that the intention of the architect was to crown the topmost story with a domical chamber over the tomb-stone, and he regards the raised platform in the centre of the upper cloister, 38 feet square, as the foundation. This surmise, derived, in the first instance, solely from architectural considerations, was confirmed by the discovery of an entry

in Mr. Finch's journal, in which, after describing his last visit to the tomb in 1609, he alludes to the intention of 'inarching' the tomb over with "the most curious white and speckled marble," and that it was to be "seeled all within with pure sheet gold richly inwrought."

Tundla.—Agricultural village in the south-east of tahsil I'timádpur; distant 15 miles west from Agra, and 3 miles south-east from I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-12′-36″; longitude 78°-16′-28″. Population (1881) 1,135 (516 females). It is a first-class station on the main line of the East India Railway, and has a telegraph and an imperial post-office.

2. AGRA.

[SEE pp. 469-72, 484, 487, OF THIS VOLUME.]

Population by tahsils.

The following statement of the population of the Agra district by religion for each parganah and tahsil has been compiled from the 1881 census returns. It differs from the statement on page 471 of this volume, which was supplied at an early stage of census operations before the figures had been finally revised:—

Parganah and tahsil.	*Hindus.*		*Muhammadans.*		*Jains.*		*Christians.*		*Others.*		*Grand total.*		Density per square mile.
	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	
I'timádpur...	128,768	58,963	9,554	4,426	2,639	1,192	306	149	...	...	141,267	64,730	509·4
Firozabad ...	97,284	43,900	8,826	4,193	2,407	1,141	1	...	3	...	108,521	49,234	534·3
Panáhat ...	115,154	54,589	3,491	1,688	1,880	827	4	1	..	...	120,529	57,005	353·0
Fatehabád ...	97,543	44,487	5,962	2,874	1,244	550	8	5	5	2	104,762	47,927	434·1
Agra (Sadr),	207,056	94,201	52,936	25,630	1,699	778	4,667	1,867	407	16	266,765	122,498	1,322·6
Kiráoli ...	101,861	47,224	11,989	5,464	823	393	5	1	...	...	114,078	53,082	421·8
Khairágarh,	110,291	50,417	7,051	3,209	784	363	6	...	2	...	118,134	53,979	382·4
Districttotal,	857,957	393,181	99,809	47,390	11,476	5,243	4,997	2,023	417	18	974,056	447,855	526·8

Hindus by castes.

Distributing the Hindus shown in the first two columns of the above table into the four conventional classes, we find from the 1881 census returns that there were Brahmans, 123,847 (56,545 females); Rájputs, 94,144 (40,363 females); Banias, 50,323 (22,156 females); and of "other castes," 589,643 (274,117 females).

Rájputs.

The Rájput clans returned as represented in the Agra district in 1881 were the following. An asterisk has been prefixed to those clans that are proclaimed under the Infanticide Act:—

Clan.	Total population.	Females	Clan.	Total population.	Females.
Andolia	4,936	2,085	*Jhanjhár	185	84
Andár	206	91	Jhikna	223	87
*Baholia	140	58	Kachhwáha	1,748	757
Bais	537	243	Kákán	1,751	739
Bángar	951	446	*Kángarh	343	134
Barbar	97	23	Karár	669	314
Barbari	280	134	Kari	295	131
Bargújar	642	301	Karoria	590	247
Bartibharbi	1,078	730	Kharia	541	285
Baselia	107	46	Mamondia	156	70
*Bhadauria	5,089	2,365	Mandesra	253	110
Bhagela	167	74	Maretá	104	51
Bhirgudi	975	396	Mohadwár	408	172
Bisali	210	100	*Moil	210	105
Burisar	231	102	Morkar	218	99
Chandel	997	449	Nágar	168	65
*Chauhán	9,230	3,877	Nalkumbh	130	58
Chaurangi	118	42	Nandbansi	514	215
Chelis	436	215	Noheni	138	54
Chhéchhar	796	339	Olesta	138	55
Dangi	119	50	*Panwár	3,419	3,629
*Dhákrá	4,177	1,828	*Parihár	2,714	1,156
Gahalwár	154	64	Parola	117	49
Gaharwár	1,588	700	Párulia	190	77
Gahlot	3,003	1,225	Pharelia	163	69
*Gaiochia	164	88	Ráthaur	1,122	486
Gaur	224	78	Rosia	138	55
Gujratichor	3,633	1,530	*Sakarwár	8,688	3,795
*Jádon	6,852	2,856	*Solankhi	272	114
Jádon Karolia ...	166	72	Tarkhar	97	46
Jádon Konia... ...	109	51	Tilwania	356	161
Jábar	348	146	Tomaria	2,824	1,259
Jáis	101	38	*Tonwar	2,666	1,148
Jákhana	125	52	Unspecified	5,808	2,093
Janghára	147	63	Specified clans with less than 100 members each.	2,855	1,246
Jarha	204	87			
Jaswat	299	138	Total ...	94,144	40,363
Jhagár	160	70			

The "other castes."

Among the "other castes" the census returns of 1881 give the population of the following, to which the name of the special calling or trade followed, or other brief note to aid in identifying them, has been added:—

Caste.	Total population.	Females.	Caste.	Total population.	Females.
Ahar (cattle-breeder) ...	353	151	Kalwár (distiller)... ...	2,171	930
Ahír (cowherd)	37,830	17,118	Kayasth or káyath (scribe) ...	11,093	5,098
Barhai (carpenter) ...	16,450	7,624	Khatík (pig & poultry-breeder),	5,308	2,439
Bhangi (scavenger) ...	14,646	6,890	Kori (weaver)	29,719	13,668
Bhát (genealogist, panegyrist),	3,199	1,413	Kumhár (potter)	15,448	7,196
Bhurji or Bharbhunji (grain-parcher).	2,357	1,105	Kurmi or Kunbi (landholder, cultivator).	2,690	1,396
Chamár (currier, agriculturist),	252,056	72,976	Lodh or Lodha (cultivator) ...	24,007	11,101
Dhánuk (village messenger, watchman).	1,600	744	Lohár (blacksmith) ...	3,017	1,429
Dhobi (washerman) ...	11,842	5,644	Lonia (salt-extractor) ...	279	129
Dom (bamboo basket maker, singer, dancer).	117	46	Máli (gardener)	943	456
Gadaria (shepherd) ...	32,327	15,536	Mallah (boatman) ...	21,018	9,903
Gosáin	1,087	533	Nái (barber)	19,559	8,710
Gújar (landholder, agriculturist).	13,375	5,905	Pási (fowler, watchman) ..	1,101	527
Ját (cultivator)	57,401	25,184	Sunár (gold and silver-smith),	6,031	2,899
Káchhi (agriculturist) ...	45,640	21,930	Tamoli (betel-leaf and nut seller).	6,949	3,149
Kahár (*palki* bearer) ...	12,948	5,818	Teli (oilman)	8,870	3,022
			Unspecified	27,078	12,599
			Total ...	589,613	274,117

Ahírs.

The following is a list of the Ahír sub-divisions found in 1881. The only sub-division proclaimed under the Infanticide Act is the Ráut :—

Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.	Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.
Ankosia	271	131	Nandbansi	4,716	2,178
Asumbhanraj Nandbansi ..	121	59	Nandbansi Chorá ...	327	204
Bedbansi	3,077	1,457	Palwanlan	1,457	658
Besaria	115	58	Panwár	116	48
Bhadrolia	210	88	Phátak	1,650	747
Bharotia	100	39	Rasondolia	94	33
Chikna	1,200	597	Ráut	2,001	884
Dhumar	652	305	Sadauli	184	89
Gadiáwat	276	116	Saithwár	211	87
Ghosi	179	88	Saigia Nandbansi ...	370	167
Gobare	109	55	Saror	127	60
Godáo	532	249	Songaria	203	80
Gwálbansi	205	84	Tagaria	479	159
Gwálnandbansi	880	413	Tarsena	580	264
Jalbharia	109	55	Tilokwár	118	53
Jhagrolia	161	72	Tingoria	150	49
Jhinkoni	245	111	Unspecified	5,170	2,229
Mádo	187	92	Specified sub-divisions with under 100 members each.	4,316	1,981
Madiá	194	88			
Makhanwár	214	103			
Mandilhá	293	91	Total[1] ...	31,739	14,320

[1] The figures allotted to the sub-divisions in the above table have been taken from the census volume on *Sex Statistics*. But on adding the figures, the total, 31,739, differs from the total given in the abovementioned volume, which makes it 31,758. These again differ from the total given in Census Form VIII. (from which the table of 'other castes' given above has been compiled), which makes it 37,839. The Collector writes (No. 1421, dated 31st May, 1883) that "as the recent Census Report was not compiled in his office," he has "no means of testing its accuracy or otherwise."

Gújars. The sub-divisions of Gújars found in 1881 were as follows. None of them are proclaimed under the Infanticide Act:—

Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.	Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.
Ambola ...	167	78	Kandal ...	117	53
Andáne ...	258	113	Kapásá ...	117	49
Balsali ...	288	127	Kathile ...	395	179
Baklele ...	170	74	Khatana ...	186	74
Bchosh ...	280	129	Khubar ...	282	128
Bisuni ...	154	62	Kisána ...	1,161	516
Bilaunia ...	230	107	Láugare ...	235	121
Chandel ...	544	250	Lohia ...	138	64
Chenchi ...	367	165	Mádo ...	443	195
Dholá ...	137	62	Phási ...	418	178
Dohli ...	97	45	Poswál ...	113	55
Dore ...	131	61	Rayáni ...	295	127
Gandela ...	119	58	Tonwar ...	130	65
Harsáni ...	533	243	Tor ...	260	104
Jhaure ...	153	64	Unspecified ...	2,414	1,026
Jháwre ...	112	54	Specified sub-divisions with under 100 members each.	2,590	1,103
Jirja ...	226	100	Total ...	13,375	5,905
Kalola ...	109	70			

Occupations. Dividing the inhabitants of Agra into the agricultural and non-agricultural classes, we find that to the former the census of 1881 (Form XXI.) allots 551,732 persons, or 56·6 per cent. of the total population, and to the latter, 422,924 persons, or 43·4 per cent. Excluding the *families* of the persons so classified, the number allotted to the former class is reduced to 233,794 persons *actually* possessing or working the land (Form XII., table 6). The details may be thus tabulated:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Landholders	19,965	906	20,871
Cultivators	141,246	19,977	161,223
Agricultural labourers	44,186	6,951	51,137
Estate office service	563	...	563
Total agriculturists ...	205,960	27,834	233,794

Classification according to census returns. The census distributes the inhabitants amongst six classes.—(1) The first or professional class numbered 13,168 males; amongst these are included 5,261 persons engaged in the general or municipal government of the country; 2,499 engaged in the

defence of the country; and 5,408 engaged in the learned professions, or in literature, art, and science. (2) The second or domestic class numbered 7,909 members; it comprised all males employed as private servants, washermen, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, inn-keepers, and the like. (3) The third or commercial class numbered 15,786 males: amongst these are all persons who buy or sell, keep or lend money and goods of various kinds, such as shopkeepers, money-lenders, bankers, brokers, &c. (6,456); and persons engaged in the conveyance of men, animals, or goods, such as pack-carriers, cart-drivers, &c. (9,330). (4) Of the fourth or agricultural class something has been said already; but besides the 205,960 males engaged in agriculture, as shown in the preceding table, the census returns include in this class 2,223 persons engaged about animals (Class IV., Order IX.), making a total of 208,183. (5) The fifth or industrial class contains 90,191 members: it includes all persons engaged in the industrial arts and mechanics, such as dyers, masons, carpenters, perfumers, &c. (7,283); those engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics, such as weavers, tailors, cotton-cleaners, &c. (34,114); those engaged in preparing articles of food, such as grain-parchers, confectioners, &c. (19,501); and, lastly, dealers in all animal, vegetable, or mineral substances (29,293). (6) The sixth or indefinite class contains 191,564 members, including labourers (20,986), persons of independent means (13), and persons of no specified occupation (170,565).

Towns and villages.

The number of inhabited villages or townships is returned by the census of 1881 as 1,199. Of these 984 had less than 1,000; 211 between 1,000 and 5,000; 2 (Fatehpur Síkri and Panáhat) between 5,000 and 10,000; and 2 (Agra and Firozabad) over 10,000 inhabitants. The population of each of the last was as follows:—Agra, 160,203; Firozabad, 16,023.